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SPECIAL SPRING MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

A special meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society was held in the Society's building in Newark, Wednesday afternoon, May 11, 1949, with the members of the Woman's Branch as guests. Mr. Charles B. Bradley, president of the Society, presided.

After an invocation by the Rt. Rev. Benjamin M. Washburn, Mr. Bradley announced that the meeting had been called for a special purpose. Now in its one hundred and fifth year, he said, it was pursuing its objectives as set forth in its charter, "to collect and preserve whatever relates to the history of New Jersey and to disseminate knowledge concerning it." This meeting was to collect first hand New Jersey history from the lips of an actor prominent in it for the last fifty years, a member of this Society, and a distinguished citizen of the state, who has represented it in the United States Senate, has served it twice, both in war times, as governor, and has served the nation as Ambassador to France. He then introduced the Honorable Walter E. Edge. Mr. Edge's address follows.

NEW JERSEY DURING THE PAST HALF CENTURY

By the Honorable WALTER E. EDGE,
Former Governor of New Jersey

I feel highly honored to have been invited by the officers of this most representative organization to review some of the historical events occurring in the State during the past half

century. The New Jersey Historical Society is even older than the State Constitution, which was recently superseded by a more modern instrument with the prayerful hope for progress and improvement. Requiring no further inspiration or respiration, this patriotic assembly moves steadily forward, preserving the priceless heritage and traditions of New Jersey.

Historians seldom recognize, much less consider as worthy of their attention, important happenings or events of contemporary or recent years. No matter if such events radically change existing policies, public thinking or even the actual mode of living, such records must be left to the historian a century hence, perhaps so the student of days to come could benefit by the mistakes of their forefathers. This practice seems to me very much like the accepted policy of erecting monuments and memorials to commemorate the accomplishments of those who have passed away, rather than indicating appreciation and encouragement while their work is progressing.

It has been suggested, whether ethical or otherwise, that today I review some of the interesting or outstanding happenings in New Jersey during the past fifty years, with which period I must admit I have been modestly active. Frankly, this assignment seems so personal that I would much prefer joining the ranks of the accepted historian and discuss the glorious record and achievements of the sons and daughters of New Jersey from 1700 to 1900, rather than from the later date to the present. Necessarily, I must confine my observations to a great extent to the field of government in which I moved, and leave for others to tell of the wonderful advances and accomplishments during this period in the industrial, professional and scientific realms. At least, reviewing recent events today, long before they are forgotten, may provide a more accurate record for future study than is otherwise presented by the research necessary to disclose the activities of the early settlers. During these past fifty years, New Jersey has pioneered in many directions. Your distinguished fellow-townsman, Honorable Franklin Murphy, Governor of New Jersey at the turn of the century, honored me with an assignment on his military staff in company with Charles W. Parker, later Supreme Court Justice

and an active member of this Society, Everett Colby, a militant early exponent of governmental reform, and my former commanding officer in the Spanish American War, Colonel Lewis T. Bryant, later State Commissioner of Labor. This association gave me a wonderful opportunity to watch and assess the trend of public thinking at the time. I must admit conservatism was the keyword, and perhaps the resistance to social reform through those years hastened the inevitable reversing of the pendulum soon to follow. Governor Murphy sponsored the first effective primary law and advocated many other beneficial legislative acts. He was a real leader among the able men of that era. A pleasant interlude that stands out in my memory was a pilgrimage to the Fore River Ship Yard, Boston, to participate in the launching of the first battleship, New Jersey, long since scrapped as surplus. Governor Murphy was a stickler for what he believed to be right. He was a lover of nature, and his zeal and determination resulted in the convening of a special session of the Legislature to repeal a law permitting the shooting of live pigeons—prohibited in surrounding states. The repeal passed. The visit of then President Teddy Roosevelt to the summer White House at Sea Girt was an outstanding social event which electrified the members of his military staff.

Governor Edward Casper Stokes, who succeeded Governor Murphy, was a different type. However, his administration was highly successful; he initiated many helpful reforms including a substantial raise in railroad taxes which had been successfully blocked for years and which, incidentally, continued to be a controversial subject and is still with us today. Stokes was a real orator, a student of the Bible, of Shakespeare, and eagerly sought to speak on many subjects. He was so versatile that he could charm an audience representing a state liquor association and on the same day bring converts to the altar with a moving address before the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association.

Then followed another distinguished citizen of Essex County, Honorable John Franklin Fort. His inaugural message bristled with demands for many reforms in public utility, corporation

and liquor laws. Likewise, the abolition of many useless bureaus. This latter recommendation was a habit with all incoming executives, but later usually ignored. Some headway, however, was made, but opposing forces stifled much to be desired. Liquor control was a live issue and when it was alleged that some of the then thriving summer resorts were flouting the law, the Governor declared that one of those pleasure spots was "A Saturnalia of Vice," which brought on investigations not without result.

I feel New Jersey can with propriety lay claim to the enactment and successful administration of the first workmen's compensation and employers' liability measure which was able to pass the test of judicial scrutiny. This was enacted during the administration of Governor Woodrow Wilson but was not the measure he advocated. Governor Wilson, as you well know, was a scholarly and attractive executive. His repudiation of the State Democratic machine and his determined efforts to make a record upon which he hoped would lead to the Presidency are history. As a member of the State Senate during his administration and at one time majority leader, I naturally was brought into close contact and I must admit we did not always agree. However, I never missed an opportunity to hear him make a public speech. His eloquence made a profound impression on me—even if some of his viewpoints failed to register.

In the early days of the century, New Jersey led all the states in the union in modern highway development. I must admit we failed to keep up the pace but in recent years have been again forging to the front in modern methods of transportation.

I have always felt immensely proud of New Jersey's contributions to the preparations and final winning of World War I. Many ammunition plants and cantonments representing every branch of the united service dotted our cities, towns and landscapes. Alleged sabotage was rampant and many explosions with large loss of life occurred, and our hastily organized Home Guard was on almost constant duty. Our citizens were more than loyal and alert. As Governor during that period, I was, at times, almost embarrassed with demands to take leading

parts in the struggle. That era provides pages in history that never can be effaced from memory.

After World War I, our State authorized the first clinic in the world in an effort to rehabilitate members of the armed forces who had returned tragically mutilated. Dr. F. H. Albee was the pioneer. In a hospital at Colonia, he was the first surgeon who successfully developed processes permitting the use of plastics and artificial arms and legs now universally followed, and which was the medium saving thousands of lives during World War II. I likewise feel it can be safely claimed that modern prison reform, initiated by the late Honorable Dwight W. Morrow, was given birth in New Jersey and has been a model for many states. So far as I can ascertain, ours was the first state to put into effect a budget and, I know from personal experience, it was years ahead of the federal budget.

Following the Second World War, we established a Veterans' Loan Fund, likewise, the first in the nation—again antedating similar action on the part of the federal government. Over $40,000,000 has thus been constructively loaned with losses infinitesimal. How much more practical than a bonus! During both World Wars, New Jersey being a seaboard state, was a cauldron of war-time activity. Camp Merritt, during the 1st, and Camp Kilmer, during the last war, were the jumping off places for the armed forces from every State in the Union. New Jersey has likewise always been very proud of the system it provided for absentee soldier voting—reports and comparisons proved that the New Jersey law recorded a much larger percentage of ballots returned and voted than the elaborate and expensive method provided by the federal government.

In recent years New Jersey led the way for all the states in the Union in a highly successful effort to protect its citizens from the hardships which inevitably follow work stoppages, popularly termed strikes, in utilities serving public needs. An uninterrupted supply of gas, electricity, transportation and the product of other state-granted franchises to operate utilities is essential to health and even life itself. New Jersey had been subjected to a number of strikes in such plants and adjustments dragged on indeterminably. Public sentiment and protest had

been so aroused that the legislature of 1946 passed an act authorizing the Governor to take over such plants and operate the same pending arbitration and mediation. It worked. Like the famous Boston police strike, employees hesitate to refuse to serve their government. The result today—every plant has been returned to its rightful owners and operators, and essential service is unimpeded. Perhaps we in New Jersey could be pardoned for some satisfaction when we read of frequent troubles with tragic happenings in this field in neighboring states.

One of the outstanding accomplishments of the State was the recent adoption of a new State Constitution, by present day thinking modernized in an earnest effort to centralize authority and responsibility. Time only will tell as to the wisdom of this augmented power, particularly in its executive and legislative branches. New Jersey's charter had remained practically unchanged for over one hudred years, and efforts for revision had commanded the attention of several governors. Final action followed the Constitutional Convention convened by Governor Driscoll. However, we already have convincing proof that it has at least provided a greatly improved judicial system under the administration of Chief Justice Vanderbilt. Again I hope "Jersey Justice" will soon occupy the pedestal from which it had fallen.

I won't attempt to detail the many activities of the State in the social security field, dating from the passage many years ago of an act shortening the work hours of women down to the present—sickness, unemployment and other social aids. However, I must admit that in this field of so-called social security, while basically it is undoubtedly the duty of government to protect its citizens, nevertheless I fear the present tendency toward all-round paternalism is encouraging idleness and developing a determination to run to the State on most every pretense. All these state-aid projects require money, and the main source of state income is some form of taxation on property or industry. We Americans have a habit of going to extremes in any direction public sentiment points, and it has frequently become necessary to put on the brakes in order to prevent disaster. In this connection, I am of the opinion a little

study in retrospect would not be out of place at the present juncture.

It will be seen, as I indicated at the out-set, that I have devoted my observations to public interests and accomplishments. Necessarily limited by time, I have only touched upon the high spots in New Jersey's last half century's public activities. However, with due apology and some misgivings, I am hopeful this only partial review may help reawaken public interest—for it is alone with you and other loyal and patriotic citizens that the trend of government can be influenced.

NEW JERSEY WORKINGMEN AND THE JACKSONIANS

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The recent interest in the "Age of Jackson" has led some scholars to seek the causes for his election successes, and the degree of support he received from the workingmen in the cities. The objective here is to describe the degree of correlation between New Jersey town labor sentiment and the Jacksonian party from 1830 to 1837.

The most populous township in New Jersey, and the "metropolis" of the state, was Newark, in Essex County. In 1830 it had 10,995 residents (although the number increased to about 20,000 by 1836). Other important towns in this period was Aquackanonk (Paterson-Passaic), in Essex, 7,731, and Amwell, Hunterdon, 7,385. At that time, Trenton contained 3,925 persons; Orange, 3,887; and Elizabeth, 3,451.

During this period, conscientious New Jersey voters found themselves annually weighing the qualities of candidates for important elective offices, since elections were held for the state legislature—for Council and Assembly—each year, in addition, of course, to the biennial and quadrennial elections for Congress and President. There was no way of gauging overall popular sentiment for the key state candidate, since the governorship was filled by an appointee of the Council and Assembly; Councilmen and Assemblymen were elected on a county basis.

There were restrictive qualifications for voting in the extant state constitution. A qualified voter was required to be male, free, white, and at least twenty-one years of age, and in possession of £50 clear estate. However, this latter qualification was practically nullified by the provisions of a law passed in 1820 which stated that any man who paid a state or county tax, and who was enrolled on the tax duplicate, "should be taken to be worth £50 clear estate," hence eligible to vote.[1] From the total of votes cast and the number of persons residing in the townships studied, it appears that the voting qualifications were met by almost all prospective voters in the 1830's.[2]

New Jersey as a whole was consistently inconsistent concerning the candidacy of Andrew Jackson and his successor. In 1824 and 1832, the state delivered a majority vote in Jackson's favor; in 1828 it voted for Adams, and in 1836 for Harrison. For most of the years between 1828 and 1836, the Democrats controlled the legislature as well as the Congressional representation.[3] The votes in the towns and cities did not always follow the general rule of the state.

With 1830 only a few months old, a new force, which incorporated the term "workingmen" into its name, entered the field of local politics. The first suggestion that the workingmen of the town of Newark were seriously concerned about the forthcoming town election came in a letter to the *New Jersey Eagle* from "A Mechanic." ("Mechanic" was a somewhat ambiguous term which might be used by an employer as well as an employee. The tone of this letter showed sympathy for the

[1]McMaster mistakenly states that New Jersey removed the property qualification in 1807, establishing universal manhood suffrage. / John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1900), Vol. V, p. 380. / Technically, universal manhood suffrage was not established until the adoption of the new state constitution in 1844. / Francis B. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (New York, 1902), Vol. III, p. 383. /

[2]The census of 1830 reported Newark as having 2,606 white males, twenty years old or more. During the Congressional election that year, 1,572 votes were cast, representing at least 60% of the eligible voters, and 24% of the total population. (See *New Jersey Eagle*, January 7 and February 4, 1831.) This was quite high, but in other years at least 15% of the total population voted. This was also true in Paterson, Orange, and Trenton.

[3]Lee, *New Jersey*, I, 216-17, 379-88.

workingman.) He found fault with many things in the town, but his main barbs were aimed at the town's school board for its policies and administration.[4] Within two weeks after this letter appeared, the "mechanics" held two meetings, at both of which they put forth their platform and nominees for town offices. Advocacy of universal free education, assistance for the poor, and new methods of voting were included in the platform, along with a refusal to take a stand for or against Jackson, or to incorporate it as an election issue.[5] Their slate for town offices met with disapproval from some quarters, which called it "the Jackson party in disguise." It probably did represent a coalition of Democratic Party adherents and workingmen, for Stephen Dod, one of the leading Whigs of Newark, feared it was an attempt to control the town politically.[6]

The success of the Workingmen at the town meeting on April 12 was overwhelming. Not only were the officers to whom they most strongly objected replaced by their own candidates, but most of their platform was adopted. They succeeded in passing their resolutions limiting the number of constables to five and providing that the election for the following year be conducted by ballot (instead of by voice vote). The "pauper" parents were to be allowed to apply their educational monetary allotment to any school of their choice; school moneys granted to the township were to be distributed among all the schools of the town.[7]

The success of the new movement in Newark was so encouraging the Workingmen held meetings during the rest of the year, issuing addresses and resolutions. They let it be known that they had evils about which to complain, which they were going to remedy through political action. However, they scrupu-

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[4]*New Jersey Eagle,* March 19, 1830.

[5]*Ibid.,* March 26, 1830. Among the growing labor organizations in the cities of the United States of the 1830's, the major problems under consideration were equal universal education, abolition of imprisonment for debt, licensed monopolies, and the militia system, and equalization of taxation. The workingmen of New Jersey concerned themselves with most of these.

[6]*Eagle,* April 9, 1830.

[7]*Eagle,* April 16, 1830; New York *Working Man's Advocate,* April 17, 1830; *Records of the Town of Newark* (Newark, 1864), pp. 252-56.

lously maintained their disclaimer of any connection with "either" of the political parties.[8] They were primed for action in the fall.

On September 2, the "Farmers, Mechanics, and Working Men" met in Newark and resolved to hold their county convention for the legislature elections on October 2 at Camptown. Similar groups met at Orange and Centerville and Caldwell for the same purpose. Orange had enough faith to endorse, sight unseen, the slate chosen at Camptown, but Centerville and Caldwell maintained a health skepticism and selected delegates for the convention.[9]

The Democrats also selected Camptown for a convention on October 2. This seriously alarmed the Whigs, and for the first time during that hectic year, they appealed to the "Farmers, Mechanics, and Workingmen of Essex County," as such, pointing out that the Whig candidates were all good workingmen and mechanics.[10]

The political race in Essex was complicated by the Anti-Masonic Party, which had some appreciable strength. Two of its designates, including the Council nominee, were placed on the Workingmen's slate, while the Whigs had six on theirs. To complicate matters further, two Jacksonian tickets appeared, both asking for the support of the Workingmen. Here the "workeys" showed some influence. Before the election, the Jacksonians met and agreed on one ticket—that first advanced by the Workingmen. As a further concession (although it may be considered an opportunistic vote-getting device), the ticket bore the arm-and-hammer emblem.[11]

The ticket was highly successful; Newark cast its vote for a Democratic councilman and four of five assemblymen, the sheriff, and coroners. Aquackanonk followed suit, less one assemblyman. Orange and Elizabeth also voted for the "Jackson men," while Bloomfield remained Whig.[12]

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[8]*Eagle,* June 4 and 25, and September 10, 1830.
[9]*Eagle,* September 10, 1830; *Sentinel of Freedom,* September 28, 1830.
[10]*Eagle,* September 24, 1830.
[11]*Sentinel,* October 5, 1830; *Eagle,* October 8 and 15, 1830; *Newark Chronicle,* October 7, 1830.
[12]*Sentinel,* October 10, 1830.

The *Sentinel of Freedom,* perhaps the staunchiest of all Whig newspapers, was somewhat impressed by the strength of the new group. In attempting to determine the cause for the Newark victory of Democrat Jacob K. Mead as sheriff, in the face of the combined opposition of Whigs and Anti-Masons, the paper came to a conclusion which was really a political tribute. "Suffice it to say, that the successful candidate is a mechanic—his opponent a professional man . . ."[13]

Again, before the congressional elections, another Whig paper, the *New Jersey Eagle,* tacitly admitted that the Democrats had drawn the workingmen's votes, insisting the latter had been decoyed by the arm-and-hammer emblem.[14]

It is not known if the Workingmen were active in Trenton and Amwell, but the Democrats did well there. Trenton voted for a Whig councilman by a majority of three out of 463 votes, but only one of five Assembly candidates received a majority; Amwell cast its votes at an almost two-to-one ratio for the Democrats.[15]

In spite of the great success of the young Essex organization, a most peculiar and mysterious situation took place. Immediately following the election, absolute silence descended over this group, and it was not heard from again until 1834. There was no explanation offered for this "disappearance;" even a Presidential campaign failed to arouse them in 1832. Whatever the cause, the Workingmen seemed content to rest on their laurels.

The silence of the Workingmen after the state election seemed to forecast the result of the election for Congress; every town in Essex cast its majority for the Whigs. Apparently, the appeal of the Jackson name alone was not enough to draw a majority of votes in Essex. Of the other towns we know little, since county totals were given.[16] Indeed, while the Workingmen kept their silence, the Whigs marched triumphantly on,

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[13]*Ibid.,* October 19, 1830.
[14]*Eagle,* December 17, 1830.
[15]*New Jersey State Gazette,* October 23, 1830.
[16]*Sentinel,* January 4, 1831; *Eagle,* January 7, 1831; *State Gazette,* January 8, 1831.

losing only in Amwell and Paterson in 1832 and 1833. The appearance of James Hewson, a tailor soon to be prominent in Newark trade union activities,[17] as a Democratic Assembly candidate in Essex in 1833 did not cause a great stir. He ran slightly ahead of his ticket in Newark, and placed third among the Democratic candidates in Paterson.[18]

During these years, two legislative enactments changed the faces of two important towns in Essex County. Part of Aquackanonk (now Passaic) was made into the new township of Paterson in 1831. Newark was divided into four wards in 1833, but their first complete census was made in 1836. However, the over-all statistics then obtained would be generally representative of the three preceding years. By dividing the population into the state, county, and township taxes for the year April, 1835—April, 1836, the per capita tax for each ward is obtained, giving an indication of where the "working class wards"—the poorer wards—were located. Through this medium we can follow more closely the voting sentiment of the people. From the results obtained, the two least populous wards had the lowest per capita tax:[19]

Ward	Population	Taxes for 1835-36	Per Capita Tax
West	5742	$6691.59	$1.17
East	5110	$5224.68	$1.02
North	3860	$3510.82	$ .99
South	4984	$4082.80	$ .82

The year 1834 brought a resurgence of Workingmen's activities in Essex and Morris Counties. This was the big year of the "Bank War," when the Jacksonians attempted to make an alliance with the Workingmen effective enough to defeat the Whigs on that issue.[20]

[17]John R. Commons, ed., *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, 1910), Vol. V, p. 63; *Newark Daily Advertiser,* February 4, July 30, and August 15, 1835.

[18]*Sentinel,* October 15, 1833.

[19]B. T. Pierson, *Directory of the City of Newark for* 1838-39 (Newark, 1838); p. 19; *Daily Advertiser,* April 7, 1836.

[20]See Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (New York, 1946), Chaps. VIII-XIV, passim.

The Workingmen of Newark called a meeting for those "opposed to the United States Bank and all monopolies," where they insisted upon nominating someone at the Democratic county convention to represent their interests in the legislature. Their nominee was James Hewson, the perennial candidate.[21]

On October 3, an announcement appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* which stated that the "Workingmen of Hanover, Morris County," and from other townships in the county, would support Calvin Howell for Sheriff, "and such men for Congress, state and county office, and such only as are known to be friends to the cause of the Workingmen and a universal system of education."

Calvin Howell was running on the Whig ticket, and naturally brought down the wrath of the Democratic press on his head. Although they admitted that the "workeys" did have a chance to select a candidate for sheriff on the Whig ticket, these papers stoutly maintained that the choice was limited to a Whig, therefore not free. It was obvious to them that the Workingmen were being used as tools in the hands of the "wigs."[22] The Democrats never attacked Howell on the untenable ground that he was not a "workey;" they obviously feared they did not have prior claim on the loyalties of Morris County Workingmen.

When the pressure was finally released at election time (this year, congressional and legislature elections took place on the same day), the results were quite disappointing to the anti-Bankites. In all five large townships in Essex, the Whigs swept all positions by large margins. Hewson again only ran with his ticket, showing weak vote-getting potential with the workers.[23]

In Morris County, only the township of Morris cast its majority for the Democrats against the victorious Howell; Hanover and Pequannock voted for him. These results point up the validity of the fears of the Democrats at pre-election time.[24]

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[21] *Eagle*, September 26, 1834; *The Man* (New York), October 4, 1834.
[22] *The Jerseyman* (Morristown), October 1 and 8, 1834.
[23] *Sentinel*, October 21, 1834.
[24] *Jerseyman*, October 22, 1834.

The stinging defeat delivered them in 1834 made a somewhat lasting impression on the Essex Democrats, for they realized that they were receiving the support of the vocal group of the Workingmen, but not that of the voters. Their appeal now was that "the Panic Makers of 1834 are totally unworthy of the support and confidence of the Farmers, Mechanics, and Workingmen of the County of Essex . . .[25] This was the first time that the Democrats appealed to this group on a defensive note, and is perhaps as good an indication of the situation as any detailed analysis of the 1834 Essex vote.

Prior to the election in 1835, the Mechanics and Workingmen of Newark held a meeting to appoint a tremendous vigilance committee, poll watchers, and a standing committee to protect and further their interests for the coming year. They stated no preference for either of the political parties.[26]

The results of the Essex election found the Whigs still the stronger, even with the rare presence of James Hewson on the Democratic slate. However, the Jacksonians increased their precentage vote in all the townships, and made the most respectable showings in the South and West wards of Newark, where they received over 48% and 47% of the votes cast, respectively. Again, there was no large concentration of votes for Hewson.[26]

Although the Mechanics and Workingmen had voiced no political preferences at the pre-election meeting, they did throw their weight again on the side of the Democrats. The reaction of the Democrats to the campaign brought a vigorous criticism from the Democratic press, namely, the *New Jersey Eagle* (which until 1832, had been Whig). During the campaign season, the Whigs were extremely vigorous in holding nightly meetings and spreading propaganda, while the Democrats did not call one ward meeting. ". . . the cause of the Democracy was left almost exclusively with the Workingmen, who were compelled to act without concert, without system, without or-

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[25]*Eagle,* October 6, 1835. A financial recession had occurred in 1834; see *Age of Jackson,* Chap. IX.

[26]*Sentinel,* October 20, 1835.

ganization, and without funds."[27] The Democrats, in this instance, used this semi-political group to do its leg-work. Perhaps this was a better arrangement, since the party made gains over the previous year.

In Hunterdon County, the "Mechanics and Working Men of Trenton" announced that they would meet July,[28] but they were extremely reticent about the objectives or results of their meeting; it was followed by complete silence. If the Workingmen had political topics to discuss, their problems were somewhat alleviated in October; no Whig opposition was supplied in Hunterdon. The latter again defaulted the following year,[29] hence our attention will be focused on the eastern part of the state for its 1836 contest.

Newark made its appearance as an incorporated city in 1836, bringing added preparation for political plum-picking in ward and city elections in April. A catch-all compromise ticket, which included the Mechanics and Workingmen, "The General Conference Committee," was nominated for city offices. No opposition was attempted.[30]

The Mechanics and Workingmen's standing committee, apparently expecting calmness and serene cooperation to mark the debut of Newark as a city, was much disturbed by the political "duplicity" on the ward levels, and openly opposed the meetings which were taking place.[31] (Almost daily, announcements appeared in the newspapers calling the Whigs of the various wards to meetings.)

The opposing tickets in the wards paralleled the alignment of the parties in the state elections; they were a coalition of Democrats and Workingmen, and Whigs. More important, three trade union members, Edwin Ferguson, Asa Scribner, and William Scarlett, were candidates for ward offices. Outstanding among these was Scribner, influential among the shoe-

[27] *Eagle*, October 16, 1835.
[28] *State Gazette*, July 4, 1835.
[29] *State Gazette*, October 24, 1835; Octcober 14, 1836.
[30] *Daily Advertiser*, April 6 and 12, 1836.
[31] *Ibid.*, April 8, 1836.

makers, and a delegate to the national cordwainer's convention, held in New York in 1836.[32]

Scribner's 154 votes were not enough to elect him constable in the West ward, nor did Ferguson get enough votes for a similar position. Scarlett, however, was elected to the school committee in the South ward.[33]

With the little added encouragement gained in April, the county "Farmers, Mechanics, and Workingmen" held a convention in September to organize for the state elections in Essex. There was a sizeable representation of trade union members at this convention. A peculiar situation developed; the nominees of the Democrats and the Workingmen were the same for Council, Sheriff, and Coroners; only one of the five nominees for Assembly appeared on both tickets. Here was a case of the Workingmen adopting most of the Democratic ticket to sandwich their nominees for Assembly. They undoubtedly resented the treatment they received from the Democrats in the 1835 election.[34]

The results of the election were hardly encouraging for the Democrats. This time they lost all of the towns in Essex. While it is true, as the *Advertiser* noted, that the vote for the "Working-Men's Ticket" did not affect the total results (the newspaper's excuse for not printing it), it was extremely interesting, if only for the fact that four Assembly candidates ran on the first "pure" labor ticket in New Jersey history.

In Newark, the Workingmen candidates received approximately 9% of the total vote. Since the election results were listed by total votes cast for each candidate, and not by ticket, the Workingmen's total slate carried a much larger percentage of votes; some of those cast for the Council candidate and for Andrew Mead, the fifth Assembly candidate, belonged to it. The highest individual number of votes was received by Thomas McKirgan, 217; the average vote for the slate was 180.

Paterson gave over 27% of its vote to the four candidates, but by much the same reasoning as above, gave much more to

[32] *Documentary History*, VI, 314-29.
[33] *Advertiser*, April 13, 1836.
[34] *Ibid.*, September 19; October 10, 1836.

the ticket. In the Essex town where the Democrats usually made the best showing, this must have hurt them. The Workingmen's vote would have been enough to have won for the Democratic Party, had there been complete unity.

In Orange and Elizabeth, the Workingmen received only token votes, while in Bloomfield they received none.[35]

With the "workeys" again assuming their November silence, the Whigs won all the towns in Essex with the exception of Paterson. New Jersey delivered its majority to Harrison.[36]

The October campaign marked the last great effort of the Workingmen, as an organized group, to obtain political power, although four important trade union leaders—John M. Caffrey, Enos Leonard, Scarlett, and Scribner—were elected to ward offices the following spring. Caffrey became Collector, and Scarlett school committeeman, in the South ward; Scribner, a constable in the West ward; and Leonard, Clerk of the East ward.[37]

The economic catastrophe which struck in 1837 eliminated the Democratic opposition in Essex County, and although the party reappeared in later elections, it did not fare very well.[38]

Just how much of an alliance was there between labor and Jackson's party? Any detailed analysis must be confined to Essex, and especially to Newark, since Workingmen's activities occurred consistently only in that New Jersey center.

The Workingmen confined themselves to activity in state elections, and in some cases, to town elections. They did not, during this period, participate as an organized group in national elections. This is quite logical, since the evils about which they complained—imprisonment for debt, pauper education, unequal taxation, and the militia system—were state-imposed problems which could be cured only in the halls of the legislature at Trenton.

From 1828 to 1836, Newark, Orange, Elizabeth, and Bloomfield voted the Whig ticket every year but one: Newark, Orange,

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[35] *Sentinel*, October 18, 1936.
[36] *Ibid.*, October 18 and December 6, 1836.
[37] *Advertiser*, April 13, 1837.
[38] *Sentinel*, October 17, 1837; October 16, 1838; October 15, 1839.

and Elizabeth in 1830; Bloomfield in 1833. Paterson—Aquackanonk until 1831 voted more consistently for the Democrats. The Workingmen were active as a group in 1830, 1834, 1835, and 1836. During these years it gave its support to the Democrats, although it was somewhat tempered during the last year. The triumph of the coalition came in 1830, when the Jacksonians gained their most complete victory of the decade. However, the cooperation of the Workingmen during the following year could not gain victories for the Democrats in Newark.

In Paterson, the presence of the Workingmen seemed to make a difference, Every year, with the exception of 1834 and 1836, in which a "workey" appeared on the ballot: 1830, 1833, and 1835, or Workingmen support was actively given, the Democrats won. It is quite probable, judging from the results of the following month's election, that the Democrats could have carried Paterson in October, 1836, had there not occurred the split with the Mechanics.

There is little doubt that the demands of the Workingmen's organization represented legitimate labor objectives. There is also little doubt that the group was not homogeneously working class. There were a number of businessmen, and probably many opportunistic party devotees in the group.[39] However, during the last two years of activity, the vigilance, poll watching, and standing committees were composed of an increasing number of trade union members.

The ability of this 19th Century PAC to draw the votes of the workingmen is doubtful. The year labor candidates ran without outside support, the highest single number of votes received was 217; in 1834, when the greatest single issue of the Jackson era arose, the Democrats lost even Paterson! But 1836 is the best example: the 217 votes received by the candidate

[39]Among the eighteen men whose names were affixed under the announcements of the Farmers, Mechanics, and Workingmen during 1830 there were two malleable iron manufacturers, one shoe manufacturer, a judge, an innkeeper, a boarding-house keeper, a clerk, a currier, a blacksmith, and a shoemaker; seven were not listed in any directory. (Pierson, *Directory of Newark,* 1835-6 to 1838-9). Three of those listed—Joseph A. Bowles, Seth Boyden, the great inventor, and Joseph L. Wheeler—were still active in the group five years later.

of the labor group did not compare favorably with the 1,168 members of the Newark Trades' Union. The organization could not get their votes out, or if it did, these people apparently voted neither for the Workingmen nor the Democrats.

The ward votes of Newark, although generally cast in the same pattern, showed interesting minor variations.[40]

	Oct. 1833		Oct. 1834[41]		Oct. 1835		Oct. 1836[42]		
	Whig	Dem.	Whig	Dem.	Whig	Dem.	Whig	Dem.	Work
South Ward	200	184	399	276	304	285	271	239	22
North Ward	182	33	364	234	276	182	159	155	7
East Ward	177	125	220	167	144	115	275	160	111
West Ward	196	181	308	224	252	226	331	216	77

If there was any close bond between the poorer people—generally of the working class—and the Democrats, and no bond at all between the richer people and that party, this chart does not show it. Comparatively, the West ward, the richest, per capita, showed the strongest pro-Jackson sentiment up to 1836. Next came the South, the poorest, per capita. However, in 1834, the important year for the Democrats, the two richer wards—East and West—showed the best returns for Jackson! When the poor wards did cast votes which resembled growing pro-Jackson sentiment, they seemed to desert their brethren, the Workingmen. If the Democrats represented the hope of the poor working class, it is indeed interesting that Newark's West ward should have reacted to elections in a relatively "un-Whiggish" manner.

The Workingmen of the towns of New Jersey, with the possible exceptions of Paterson, Trenton, and Amwell, did not cast the determining votes for the Democrats, and were hardly consistent in Paterson and Trenton. They failed to deliver the votes for the party in the key city of New Jersey. It must be admitted that Democratic votes were cast by someone; enough

[40]Votes given are Council votes except for 1836, which are Assembly totals. Generally, the straight ticket was voted.

[41]Elections for Congress and state offices were held simultaneously.

[42]Workingmen's votes are the highest number obtained in each ward.

to carry the state for Jackson in 1832, and elect Congressmen and state legislators in other years. An analysis of the counties which most consistently supported Jackson—Bergen, Hunterdon, Sussex, Monmouth, and Warren—reveals that they were overwhelmingly agricultural. Those which consistently voted Whig—Cape May, Cumberland, Essex, Gloucester, and Salem—were, with the exception of manufacturing Essex, more concerned with lumbering and fishing than with agricultural pursuits. The sturdy farmer, generally of the northwestern part of the state, and not the workingman of the town, represented the backbone of the Jackson party in New Jersey.[43]

ELECTION MACHINERY IN NEW JERSEY, 1702-1775*

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This article is concerned with the electoral process in colonial New Jersey from 1702 until 1775. Particular attention is centered on irregularities that were fostered by the crudity of the election machinery. The word "irregularities" is used designedly rather than "fraud," for evasions of the letter of the law as well as outright violations have been included. Such a study is important because the essence of self-government is embodied in the ability of those who hold the suffrage franchise to express their will by the use of adequate, efficient, and incorruptible electoral machinery. To the extent that such expression is denied, the voice of the people is destroyed or stilled.

Electoral irregularities were usually brought to light by a petition to the General Assembly from a group of freeholders complaining of an "undue election." It is from a survey of such cases that the materials for this investigation are largely

[43]See Gordon, *Gazeteer of New Jersey;* various New Jersey papers for election returns; and Lee, *New Jersey,* III, 379-83.

*The author wishes to record his gratitude to Professor Richard P. McCormick of the Department of History and Political Science for suggesting this topic of investigation and supervising the study from its inception to its completion.

derived. It should be understood that the validity of the complaints has not been examined; but rather, the complaints themselves have been reviewed as indications of the methods then existing for defeating the will of the majority.

The years under discussion divide chronologically into two periods. In 1702 royal rule was established in New Jersey. From then until 1725 there was a period of instability, and election disputes were numerous. Contrarily, after 1725 electoral machinery remained relatively stable, and there was a marked diminution of electoral frauds until the outbreak of the Revolution.

The initial period under royal rule would have been difficult under ordinary conditions. Disputes between the proprietary and anti-proprietary factions were "inherited" by the new administration; compromising these differences in the interests of effective government would have been a delicate task for an able administrator. It was wholly beyond the abilities of the corrupt Lord Cornbury, first governor appointed by the Crown. Much of the confusion concomitant to the period must be attributed to this poor beginning.

An additional factor of importance was the lack of specific, detailed instructions relative to electoral machinery. Like Topsy, these processes "just growed." Not until 1725 was any effort made to remedy this flaw. Consequently this early period was characterized by a series of electoral disputes which approximated twice the number of those occurring between 1725 and 1775.

Information concerning actual polling procedure prior to 1702 is scanty. In theory, the matter was defined in three prominent documents issued prior to royal rule, but the last two of them never went into effect and the first had not set forth specific methods of election.[1] Presumably one reason for

[1] "The Concession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Caesarea, or New Jersey . . . " (1664); "The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey in America," (1676); "The Fundamental Constitutions for the Province of East Jersey in America," (1683). For these documents see Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, *The Grants, Concessions and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey . . .* (Philadelphia, 1752 [?].

this lack of definition was that the colonists simply took much of it for granted. They had voted in a certain manner in England, and the pattern would be the same in the New World. In general, one may assume that once the election writ had been issued and the day of election had arrived, the sheriff took his poll by the *viva voce* method or by "scanning the view." Qualifications for both the electors and those elected centered on the landed concept common to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The limitations were not necessarily burdensome. "Once in America if the settler possessed a good character and was not politically or religiously obnoxious, it was an easy matter to get land. Since agriculture was almost the sole occupation, he who did not possess land was usually vagrant and socially dangerous."[2]

Lord Cornbury's commission and instructions embodied most of the conditions and guarantees sought by the proprietors of both East and West Jersey when they surrendered their governmental authority to the Crown in 1702. The number of representatives to the Assembly was not as large as they had wished, but qualifications for those eligible to hold office and to exercise the suffrage franchise were substantially as desired. The Assembly consisted of twenty-four members, two chosen by the householders of the city and town of Burlington in West Jersey, two by the town of Perth Amboy, ten by the freeholders of East Jersey, and ten by the freeholders of West Jersey.[3] To be a member of the General Assembly required ownership of one thousand acres of land within the division for which the member was chosen.[4] An elector of such a representative had to have "one Hundred Acres of Land of an Estate of Freehold in his own Right within the Division for which he shall so Vote."[5] To alter the number of representatives or their manner of election required an act of the General Assembly subject to the approval of the Crown.

A broadening of the franchise privilege was evidently at-

[2]Albert Edward McKinley, *The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America* (Philadelphia, 1905), p. 229.
[3]Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions,* p. 622.
[4]*Ibid.,* pp. 622-623.
[5]*Ibid.,* p. 623.

tempted by the Second Assembly, which met in November, 1704.[6] It was a political measure, the effect of which was to strengthen the anti-proprietary party. Property qualifications as stated in Cornbury's instructions were nullified by "substituting for that provision the old vague term 'freeholder' without additional qualification" and by introducing "the governor's favorite theory of the equality of land and personal property as the basis for political qualifications."[7] The passage of this law was disapproved by the Crown at a later date.

New instructions, dated April 20, 1705, did not broaden the franchise to the extent that Cornbury had desired. Nevertheless, land ownership was deemphasized in that voting rights were given to each freeholder who had "100 Acres of Land of an Estate of Freehold in his own right within the County for which he shall so vote, or a Personal Estate in Money, Goods or Chattels to the Value of £50 Sterling." An interesting aspect of this was that henceforth the voter must own his land in the county for whose representatives he voted rather than the broader division requirement of the original instructions. Too, personal property, as well as real property, was made a factor is determining voting rights.[8]

Because of the time lag between enactment of legislation nd subsequent approval or disapproval by the authorities in London, the issue had become confused. The matter was resolved by the Fourth Assembly, meeting at Perth Amboy on April 4, 1709. An act was passed stipulating that

> after the Dissolution of this present Assembly the Representatives to serve in the said General Assembly thereafter shall be chosen by the Majority of Voices or Votes of the Freeholders of each County, every Freeholder having One Hundred Acres of Land in his own Right, or be worth Fifty Pounds, current Money of this Province in Real and Personal Estate: And the

[6]Samuel Allinson, *Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey,* from . . .1702, *to the 14th day of January,* 1776 . . . (Burlington, 1776), p. 5.

[7]McKinley, *Suffrage Franchise,* p. 252.

[8]William A. Whitehead, ed., *Archives of the State of New Jersey, Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey, First Series* (Newark, N. J., 1881-1882), III, pp. 96-98.

> Persons elected to serve as Representatives in the said General Assembly shall have One Thousand Acres of Land, in his own Right, or be worth Five Hundred pounds current Money of this Province, in Real and Personal Estate.[9]

The change in the requirement based on current money rather than sterling was of great significance. By stipulating the former, whose value was appreciably lower than sterling, one may assume that the base of the electorate was broadened decidedly. No further change of consequence was made in the property qualification down to the eve of the Revolution.

Other franchise requirements were of minor importance. Apparently there was nothing to prevent an Indian or a Negro, if otherwise qualified, from voting.[10] Moral qualifications were limited to Cornbury's instructions from the Crown "not to admit any Person to publick Trusts and Employments in our said Province, under our Government, whose ill Fame and Conversation may occasion Scandal."[11] Subsequent qualifications on the moral phase of suffrage and electoral requirements were concerned with the matter of bribery, which will be discussed more fully later. "It seems to have been the rule in most of the American colonies that Roman Catholics could not vote."[12] It is probable there were too few Catholics in New Jersey to warrant special legislation. As a general proposition, electors were required to be twenty-one years of age.[13] Women were not specifically denied the vote during this period. By 1710 the residence requirement had again shifted back from the county provision to that of the division. Of greater importance was the fact that henceforth the nominee would have to be living within his division for at least three months prior to his nomination.[14]

It is difficult to obtain a comprehensive picture of the manner of holding elections from 1702 to 1725. While the "Conses-

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[9]Allinson, *Acts*, p. 6.
[10]Cortlandt F. Bishop, *History of Elections in the American Colonies* (New York, 1893), p. 51.
[11]Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, p. 640.
[12]Bishop, *History of Elections*, p. 61.
[13]*Ibid.*, p. 64.
[14]Allinson, *Acts*, p. 10.

sions" of both East and West Jersey had been specific on the manner of polling the votes, neither of the documents was fully effective. Moreover, as Bishop states, "Whatever may have been the manner of voting under the Jersey proprietary governments, their surrender to the Crown in 1701 caused the introduction of the English poll."[15] The writ was issued by the Crown's representative, and the election itself was dominated by the sheriff. Presumably sufficient time was to be granted for the issuance of the writ to the election so that all voters and candidates might be prepared for the event. We have evidence, however, that such was not always the case. Methods of voting appear to have varied. Candidates were chosen by "the Majority of Voices or Votes of the Freeholders," and sheriffs were punished for making false returns.[16]

In point of fact, a series of make-shift regulations, not clearly defined, dependent upon local customs, and subject to many abuses, existed between 1702 and 1725. Until that latter date, "the entire system of conducting elections had never been stated before in detail."[17] Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the number of election disputes arising during this confused period far exceeded those which occurred after passage of the Act of 1725.

The colonial electorate displayed an ingenuity in circumventing fair electoral procedures that is not exceeded by their present day counterparts. Conspicuous among the causes of electoral disputes were complaints centering about the qualifications of the candidates and the management of the elections. The importance of the sheriff in this latter function cannot be overstated.

It is significant, and appropriate, that the first disputed election in the First Assembly involved Thomas Gordon, High Sheriff of Middlesex County and a member of the Assembly. Party politics played the major role in this flagrant example of electoral chicanery. Gordon, a representative of the anti-Corn-

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[15]Bishop, *History of Elections,* p. 166.
[16]Allinson, *Acts,* pp. 6-7.
[17]Edwin P. Tanner, *The Province of New Jersey,* 1664-1738 (New York, 1908), p. 329.

bury faction, took a number of steps to see that the "right" men were elected. Thus in spite of the fact that his nominees were voted down by heavy odds he "did contrary to all Law, Reason, Justice or President [sic] returne the choice of the 42 Ellect.rs ag.t the choice of more than three hundred men."[18] Other devices employed by him to prevent a fair election included the refusal of a poll when demanded and a delay in the time of the election.[19] By this latter maneuver he detained the voters in an area where accommodations were extremely limited, with the result that "severall hundreds of substantial housekeepers were forc'd to lye out of doors in that bitter weather."[20] In spite of the outraged complaints of the injured citizens, Gordon, a member of the majority party, was vindicated in an appearance before the House, and the newly elected members were seated by that body.

In 1704 five Quakers protested the illegal actions of William Fisher, sheriff of Burlington County and a Cornbury henchman. Fisher was criticized because he had "refused to allow any person to vote, unless for Such Men as he named, and the Quakers in particular were wholey Excluded their right of Voteing." That the sheriff's character was short of sterling was indicated by the fact that he had once been "burnt in the Hand as a Criminall, one Guilty of Notorious Rogueries."[21] He was absolved of any misdemeanor by a House in which the Cornbury faction then held a majority.[22]

The matter of conflicting authority between a sheriff and a town constable came to light in a dispute in the Fifth Assembly on December 1, 1709. Presumably, both these officials sent in returns for the same area, resulting in "a double return of members to serve for the Town of Burlington." The House decided

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[18]*N. J. A.*, III, p. 15.
[19]*Ibid.*, p. 195.
[20]*Ibid.*, p. 15.
[21]*N. J. A.*, III, p. 153.
[22]*Journal and Votes of the House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey* (Jersey City, N. J., 1872), p. 58.

to set aside both returns and ordered a writ for a new election.[23] In signing the writ, Governor Ingoldsby decided that it should be sent to the Town Constable, for "the shrffe [was] no proper Officer to make the return being properly an Officer of the County and not of the Town."[24]

By not giving due notice of an election date, sheriffs had another political maneuver at their disposal. On January 20, 1709, a complaint was directed to the Fifth Assembly that John Ashbrough, Sheriff of Gloucester County, had been neglectful on that score.[25] Similarly, a memorial to the Lords Commissioners dated April 17, 1705, in complaining of elections to the Second Assembly, had stated: "The writs were issued and the Elections directed to be made, in such hast. that in one of the writs the Qualifications of the persons to be elected was omitted, and the Sheriff of one County not sworn till Three days before the Election, and many of the Townes had not any (much less due) notice of the day of Election."[26] When Cornbury was chided on this point he replied that "if soe the fault must be among the Sherifs, for I have always directed the Secretary to take care there be at least forty days allowed between the Testé, and the Returne of the Writt."[27]

The election of Thomas Farmar in 1713 represents the epitome of electoral fraud for this era. In a petition of some freeholders from Middlesex County, presumably addressed to the Sixth Assembly, Gawen Lockhart, the sheriff, was accused of the following misdemeanors: accepting disqualified candidates, refusing Farmar's opponents their right to choose "their In-

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[23]*Journal of the Votes of the General Assembly of her Majestie's Colony of Nova-Caesarea, or New Jersey, in America* (Printed and microfilmed, December 1, 1709, p. 217. Hereafter cited *Assembly Journal.* The Assembly Journal is available to students in a variety of forms. In the course of this study, in addition to the above, use has been made of either the microfilmed manuscript or the manuscript itself, hereafter cited Assembly Journal, Mss. Mentioned heretofore was the *Journal and Votes of the House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey* (Jersey City, N. J., 1872). This will be cited, *Journal and Votes.*

[24]*Assembly Journal,* December 6, 1709, p. 221.

[25]*Journal and Votes,* January 20, 1809, u. 262.

[26]*N. J. A.,* III, p. 87.

[27]*Ibid.,* III, p. 155.

spectors or the Clarks of the Pole as the Law directs," unfairly adjourning the poll, threatening the voters with jury duty unless they voted as he demanded, refusing to list the votes of those who did not do so, and finally, declaring Farmar the winner of the election by a slim margin even as other voters in sufficient number to avert this stood helplessly by, their votes unaccepted.[28]

The issuance of writs was a source of controversy. In 1713, the House questioned the return of the constable from the town of Salem. In the course of the debate there was some doubt expressed concerning the legality of the writ. An investigation of all writs issued for that Assembly, the Seventh, then ensued. It was finally decided that such writs "did conforme to the Constitution of ye Government."[29] In 1725 Sheriff Charles Weston, of Burlington County, appeared before the House to apologize for having "committed an error in making a Return to the writ." Weston was a cohort of Coxe and one may be legitimately suspicious of his use of the word "error."[30] He was reprimanded by the House.[31]

A timely adjournment of the polls or their removal to a strategic location were typical tricks of the unscrupulous sheriff. The same Sheriff Weston was criticized for the use of this device in the famous Coxe-Stacy election dispute of 1725.[32] At an earlier date, in 1716, Sheriff William Harrison of Gloucester County have been reprimanded by the House for "having adjourned the Pole for Election of Representatives on the 10th day of February last; from the great Field near John Kay's to the house of William Cooper, several miles distant, without the consent of the candidates."[33]

Obviously there existed ample opportunity for a scheming sheriff to conduct a dishonest election. This became so apparent by 1725 that the Eighth Assembly passed an act for the

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[28]*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 186-188.
[29]*Assembly Journal*, Mss., February 5, 6, 1713, pp. 217-219.
[30]Daniel Coxe, an influential landowner and legislator from West Jersey; a particular trial to Governor Hunter.
[31]Assembly Journal, Mss., August 14, 1725, p. 118.
[32]*N. J. A.*, V, pp. 105-106.
[33]*Assembly Journal*, April 28, 1716, p. 11.

better regulation of elections which more rigidly defined the sheriff's duties and provided penalties for his derelictions. Other means of "irregularity" were available, however, which must be surveyed before leaving the period 1702-1725.

The broad category "qualifications of the candidate" covered many aspects of chicanery and was most open to abuse by bickering along party lines within the Assembly. It was frequently used as a retaliatory measure. Typically, the majority proprietory group of the First Assembly when challenged on the Middlesex County elections supervised by Thomas Gordon retaliated by successfully disqualifying Richard Hartshorne of the opposing faction.[34]

One of the most flagrant abuses of disqualification took place in the Second Assembly under the skilled political maneuvering of Lord Cornbury. His motive was to shift the balance of power within that body so that the majority would then rest with the anti-proprietary faction. Once this had been accomplished, certain legislation Cornbury wished would be assured passage. The plan succeeded. On November 16, 1704, two members of the Council challenged the property qualifications of Thomas Gardiner, and Johsua Wright.[35] By December 6 the House had decided these men were qualified and directed that they be presented to Cornbury to complete the necessary formalities.[36] He delayed the matter on pretext of making his own investigation, and not until October 26, 1705, was the Assembly notified that the three members had received his approval.[37] The effectiveness of this delaying action was attested by a petition presented to the Crown at a later date. The complainants pointed out that Cornbury had been able to "keep them [the three members] out nigh Eleven Months," thus "assuming to himself a negative voyce to the freeholders Election of their Representatives and by which Means he procured the passing of Severall Laws which Have and Do greatly oppress your Majesties Loyall Subjects."[38]

[34] *Journal and Votes,* November 16, 17, 1703, pp. 10-12.
[35] *Ibid.,* November 16, 1704.
[36] Ibid., December 6, 1704, p. 58.
[37] *Ibid.,* October 26, 1705, p. 68.
[38] *N. J. A.,* III, p. 172.

The property qualification was considered on a broader scale by the Sixth Assembly. A committee formed to look into an undue election at Burlington resolved "that all Freeholders in the Town of Burlington and all other Towns that have a Right to choose Representatives tho not residing therin, have a right to Vote." This, of course, complied with the regulation of April 4, 1709.[39] That some of the voters had not met those requirements and had voted illegally is indicated by the committee's resolution that "any person who is maintained of charity by any Town within this Province or who doth not by Occasion of Poverty pay taxes are not capable of giving their votes in Elections of Representatives." The House confirmed this point of view and ordered a new election.[40]

Instances of evasion of the property qualification, if not of false conveyance, were not rare. Writing ex-Governor Hunter about Dr. John Johnston, James Alexander stated that "the Docter had taken So much pains Privately to be chosen that he had there [at the poll] above three hundred freeholders most of which out of Monmouth, Somerset & Hunterdon to Whom him and his friends had given Small lotts of Land in Amboy."[41] By indirection ,at any rate, this would appear to illustrate the lightness of the property qualification as such. Moreover, the fact that a very small percentage of the entire range of disputed elections is based on this charge would lead one to a similar conclusion.

Moral qualifications were not a vital issue, but they did come to the fore occasionally. Captain John Browne, implicated in the "Blind Tax" affair,[42] was held in contempt of the Third Assembly and then expelled by that body.[43] Cornbury protested this action, stating it was "a most notorious assuming to yourselves a Negative Voice to the Free-holders Election of their Representatives."[44] The House replied, "We are the freeholders

[39]Allinson, *Acts*, p. 6.
[40]Assembly Journal, Mss., December 9, 1710, p. 9.
[41]*N. J. A.*, V, p. 61.
[42]The "Blind Tax" was a fund raised by certain members of the anti-proprietary party to be given to Lord Cornbury as a bribe to further their own ends.
[43]*Assembly Journal*, April 29-30, 1707, pp. 94-96.
[44]*N. J. A.*, III, p. 197.

representatives; and how it's possible we should assume a negative voice at the election of ourselves, is what wants a little explanation to make it intelligible."[45]

The House and the Governor could work together on this score. Governor Burnet informed the Eighth Assembly that he had found among his records "an Indictment against Isaac Sharp, for false swearing," and that, "through the Regard he had for the Honour of the House of Representatives it obliged him acquaint them with this matter." The Assembly denied the member his seat.[46]

Religious qualifications were occasionally tested. William Clews, a representative from Salem County in 1716 was challenged in the Seventh Assembly. It appeared that for religious reasons he had refused to take the oath although Governor Hunter had not considered him to be a Quaker. When it was determined that "he was and had been for some time past, a Reputed Quaker in the County of Salem," he was qualified by Hunter and was voted his seat in the House.[47]

Several incidents of irregularity do not lend themselves to broad cataloging. One such was a complaint that Peter Sonmans at an election at Woodbridge had "very much disturbed the Election and as the Deponents firmly beleeve Endeavored by Virtue of his Authority to overawe and terrify the Electors."[48] As a member of the Council, a man of some authority, such a threatening attitude would not have contributed to a fair election. In a different vein, but again indicative of potentially fradulent measures, Governor Hunter wrote that Coxe had secured a triumphal election "by means of false suggestion, fraudulent Conveyances and the Rum botle."[49] The action of Hunter in promoting the expulsion of Coxe and his colleagues from the Eighth Assembly was itself a questionable procedure. Few would deny that the Coxe faction had been an unsavory one, but as Tanner notes, "The policy of Hunter was of very doubtful legality in spite of his success. It does seem as if, for

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 266.
[46] *Assembly Journal*, November 9, 1723, p. 12.
[47] *Ibid.*, April 24, 1716, p. 9.
[48] *N. J. A.*, IV, p. 15.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

a time at least, Coxe and his party represented majority sentiment in New Jersey."[50]

It has been impossible to pin down the causes of all disputes between 1702 and 1725. The rash of charges and countercharges are intermeshed throughout the sessions of the Sixth Assembly.[51] One may safely assume that party factionalism was their *raison d'être*. In any event they do not appear to have been taken too seriously by the representatives. Some of the same participants were again charged with certain failings at a later date and were expelled from the House. These were purely political factors, however, and are not germane to this study save that by such expulsions their constituents were denied representation for an extended period of time. Additional uncatalogued disputes for this period may be found listed below.[52]

A mass of evidence points to the variety of ways fair electoral processes could be evaded, to the minor penalties assessed upon those convicted of supervising dishonest elections, and to the actual lack of adequate laws setting up effective electoral machinery. Factors contributing to the relatively large number of irregularities include the corrupt or inept administration of some of the governors and their councils, the bitter clash between the proprietary and anti-proprietary parties which logically found political expression, the constantly changing legislation on the suffrage requirements, the time lag between the enactment of legislation in the Province and the final decision on it by the Crown, and, most important, the lack of clearly defined electoral procedures and responsibilities. These deficiencies contributed to fraudulent or evasive actions either at the poll, for the most part by the chicanery of the sheriff, or by attempts in the House to disqualify newly elected members for reasons based too often on political expediency rather than for honest intent.

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[50]Tanner, *Province,* pp. 327, 434.

[51]*Ibid.,* pp. 367-371.

[52]Peter Sonmans, *Journal and Votes,* December 2, 3, 1709, pp. 218-219; John Tennison, *ibid.,* December 14, 1709, p. 227; Thomas Farmar, *Assembly Journal,* April 28, 1716, p. 11; David Rycroft, Assembly Journal, Mss., November 11, 1723, p. 75.

Recognition of these factors brought about the passage of remedial legislation by the Third Session of the Eighth Assembly. In 1725 there was adopted "An Act for the better Regulation of Elections, and laying a Penalty on all Officers and other Persons whatsoever that shall by indirect Practices endeavor to obtain any Election contrary to the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of the People, and the true Intent and Meaning of this Act."[53] It was this law which was to remain in effect, with but minor alterations, down until the eve of the Revolution.

It is apparent that the representatives intended to close certain loopholes which had permitted evasions of the law, to tighten provisions whose looseness had led to abuse of the franchise, and to initiate rules that had not existed before but which obviously were needed now. A study of the provisions of the act, when related to the irregularities explored to this point, will confirm this observation.

The act of 1725 provided that sheriffs or other officers of elections for representatives to the Assembly were to advertise each election at least twenty days before it took place. These advertisements were to be placed in at least "three of the most publick Places in their County, City or Town." At the appointed place, on the appointed day, between the hours of ten and twelve, the election would proceed by the reading of the writ. The sheriff would not "declare the Choice upon the View nor adjourn from that to any other Place without the Consent of the Candidates, nor by any unnecessary Adjournment delay the Election." If a Poll were required it was to be taken "fairly and indifferently . . . from Day to Day, and Time to Time . . . until all the Electors then and there present be polled." The sheriff was to appoint one clerk and one inspector for each candidate, with such appointments based on nominations by the candidates themselves. The function of the clerks was to set down "the Names of the Electors, and the Place of their Abode, and the Person they give their Votes for." Any person could get a copy of the resultant poll by paying the

[53] Allinson, *Acts,* pp. 69-70.

sheriff a reasonable fee. A candidate questioned on his qualifications must take an oath stating that he was and had been a freeholder and resident for a year, that the estate which permitted him to vote, or to hold office, was his own and had not been improperly conveyed to him. Quakers took an affirmation to this same effect.

Penalties were provided for making false conveyances, both upon the grantor and the one to whom the property had been conveyed. Moreover, a penalty of three hundred pounds was to be levied against any sheriff acting contrary to the details of this act or who would return "any Person not duly elected by the Majority of the Freeholders." A candidate was forbidden to "give, present or allow to any Person having Voice or Vote in such Election, any Money, Meat, Drink, Entertainment or Provision . . . in order to procure or gain Voices or Votes in his election." Any person so doing was to be denied his seat in the Assembly if he won the election. Finally, it was forbidden to make "Assertions or false Reports of any of the Candidates, either in Words or Message or Writing, or in any other Manner" in an effort "to frighten, or by indirect Means persuade any Elector to give, or dissuade any Elector from giving his Vote for the Choice of any Person to be a Member of the General Assembly . . ." Anyone so doing was to be fined ten pounds.

Of lesser importance than this omnibus law, but still a vital reform, was a law passed by the First Session of the Tenth Assembly on July 8, 1730. It prohibited members of the Assembly from holding an office of profit under the Crown. Moreover, any person in the colonies who would be ineligible for a seat in the House of Commons in England could not be a member of the Assembly in the Province.[54]

The result of the passage of these two laws was to provide for a period of stability in electoral procedures which had not been possible before their enactment. The pattern of irregularities changed. There were fewer complaints about the actual management of elections; more were concerned with technicalities rather than with apparent derelictions of duty.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

In this category may be placed the debate over the qualifications of Henry Fisher in the Twelfth Assembly. His opponent charged that as an unnaturalized alien, Fisher should not have been elected. Fisher replied that he had been informed "that he, amongst several other Germans, was naturalized by Virtue of an Act of Parliament pass'd in Great Britain, in Queen Ann's Reign, by Virtue of which Act, he thought himself intitled to sit as a Member in this House."[55] He was denied his seat and a new election was ordered for Somerset County.

Difficulties with sheriffs were not wholly removed. Mishandling of an election by Sheriff David Martin in Hunterdon County resulted in the refusal of the Thirteenth Assembly to seat the elected representatives and a reprimand for the sheriff.[56] A complaint of a different nature was directed to the Eighteenth Assembly concerning the residency qualification of Enoch Anderson, sheriff of Hunterdon County. The Seventeenth Assembly had contested the residence of William Deare, erstwhile sheriff of Perth Amboy, New Brunswick, and Middlesex County but had finally settled the matter satisfactorily.[57] At this later date, Anderson was charged with not having been a resident of Hunterdon County "for three whole Years immediately preceding his being so appointed,"[58] and the House asked for his removal. Governor Belcher replied that Deare had been cleared of a similar charge and that no doubt there was little reason to believe that Anderson had been improperly commissioned.[59] This *non sequitur* did not please the House, but the matter was dropped for the time being. When it came up again a year later, Anderson had already been removed. The House wrote a lengthly diatribe about Belcher's handling of the situation. His reply to the House in his closing address on June 21, 1754, was in a similar vein. The issue had long since been settled with Anderson's removal, so there is little doubt that political bickering played a role in the dispute.

The greatest number of disputes whose causes have been de-

[55] *Assembly Journal*, April 11, 1740, p. 5.
[56] *Ibid.*, October 20-21, 1742, pp. 19-22.
[57] Assembly Journal, Mss., February 12, 1750, pp. 211-212.
[58] *Assembly Journal*, June 6, 1753, p. 37.
[59] *Ibid.*, June 8, 1753, p. 50.

termined during the period 1725-1775 concerned the "Office of Profit" ruling of 1730.[60] The Tenth Assembly decided on May 1, 1733, that Isaac Venzant "had accepted of the Office of Sheriff of the County of Somerset, an Office of Profit contrary to the tenor of an Act of the Assembly of this Province." He was removed.[61] A similar fate met Eli Eldredge, "late sheriff of Cape May," on a ruling based on the same charge made in the Twenty-first Assembly.[62] An incident of a representative attempting to evade the provisions of this act by subterfuge is displayed by a motion made in the Tenth Assembly stating "that Mr. Porterfield, one of the Members of this House, had Obtained the Office of Clerk of the Courts of Sessions and Pleas, for the County of Hunterdon, for one Jeremiah Foster, who was Accountable to him for a Share of the Profit." The House decided that "any Member of this house Obtaining an Office for any other person, who is to Account for a Share of the profits thereof, to Such Member, may be Attended with the Like Inconveniences as Accepting of an Office of Profit, but they are of Opinion it is Not within the Provisions Made by the Act . . ."[63]

The most complex case resulting from a charge of being a representative while holding a Crown office was that of Samuel Nevill, a Supreme Court justice. The Nineteenth Assembly was presented with a lengthy, abstruse report on the matter. A study of the acts of Parliament revealed that in several comparable cases some of the men so charged had been seated by Parliament. It would appear that the ruling of 1730 had been directed primarily against sheriffs, and it may have been a source of annoyance to have it thus backfire against a man of Nevill's calibre. At any rate, the House voted to seat him as a member.[64] Of a more routine nature was the familiar residence charge brought against John Combs in the Twenty-first Assembly, but the House decided that he should be seated.[65]

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[60]Allinson, *Acts*, p. 83.
[61]*Assembly Journal*, May 1, 1733, p. 5.
[62]Assembly Journal, Mss., August 20, 1772, p. 358.
[63]*Ibid.*, May 11, 1733, p. 274.
[64]*Assembly Journal*, October 15, 1754, pp. 17-18.
[65]Assembly Journal, Mss., August 20, 1772, p. 358.

A prolonged dispute took place between the representatives of this Assembly and Governor Franklin. John Ogden of Essex County had had his resignation accepted by the House. Franklin refused to sign a writ for a new election, stating that "The voluntary Resignation of a Member of the Assembly, without any legal Cause of Disability to continue his Attendance in the House, being assigned, may be introductive of great Inconvenience to the province."[66] Left unsaid, perhaps, was his thought that if one member could resign, so could all, and thus the governor's exclusive power to dissolve an assembly would be in jeopardy. The House pointed out that since Ogden had become bankrupt he was thus disqualified under the property requirement. Since "Mr. Ogden not being a Freeholder disqualified him from Sitting in the House of Assembly and the House of Assembly was the sole Judge thereof," his resignation had been in order.[67] The issue was stalemated until November 29, 1771, at which time Franklin advised the House that he had issued a new election writ because "John Ogden, Esq. One of the Representatives of the County of Essex having lately accepted an Office of Proffit by which, according to a law of this Province he has vacated his Seat in the Assembly."[68] This new approach, however legal, did not placate the House, for on December 5, 1771, it resolved "That it is the undoubted Right of this House to judge of the Qualification of its Members, and in case of Death or Legal Disability of any Member It is the sole Right of this House to declare his seat vacant and order a Writ to issue for Electing another Person in his Room." The governor did not agree with their reasoning, but no further issue was made of the matter.[69]

A constructive, intelligent approach was taken toward investigating a disputed election in Essex County, 1738, between Josiah Ogden and Jonathan Crane. The House formed a committee of three men "to hear the scrutiny," set a time and place for it to conduct its investigation, and gave it "power to Adjourn

[66] *Ibid.*, October 26, 1770, p. 281.
[67] Ibid., p. 281.
[68] *Ibid.*, November 29, 1771, p. 308.
[69] *Ibid.*, December 5, 1771, p. 315.

from day to day and to Send for persons, books and papers." The controverting parties were to exchange lists of disputed votes for the committee to examine, and "after the Parties do exchange Lists, That then it Shall not be in the power of Either party to add any other persons than what are Contained in the said Lists."[70]

The committee asked the House for further directions and the House resolved

> that if any Person will swear or affirm, that he at that Time of giving his Vote in the Late Election for Representatives for the County of Essex, he had been a freeholder and Resident in the said County for one whole year, and that the Estate for which he Claimed to Give his Vote in that Election, was his own proper Estate, and that it was Not Conveyed to him upon trust or on Condition that he Should give his Vote in that Election for any person; and that the Vote of every person so Swearing Shall be admitted to be a good Vote. provided, the previous Question be put whether the person to be Qualified was at the same Time worth Fifty Pounds, in real and personal Estate.[71]

The committee later reported the results of its investigation, stating in detail what votes they had allowed for each candidate and what number had been disallowed. Certain additional votes advanced by both candidates were presented for House consideration. The committee stated, "That on the whole it is the opinion of the Committee, That Coll. Ogden is Duly Elected, and returned to serve as a Member in the present General Assembly for the County of Essex, by a Majority of lawful Votes." The House so agreed.[72]

It is apparent that this later period offers a vivid contrast to the period 1702-1725. Not only were there markedly fewer disputes, but such as there were appeared to be more nearly of a

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[70]Assembly Journal, Mss., November 16, 1738, p. 9.

[71]*Ibid.*, November 23, 1738, pp. 11-12.

[72]Assembly Journal, Mss., November 28, 1738, p. 13. Additional disputes, the causes of which have not been determined, include those concerning Joseph Reeves, Assembly Journal, Mss., May 29, 1733, pp. 282-283; Cooper and Bickle, *ibid.*, November 15, 1738, p. 318; and Ladd and Clements, *Assembly Journal*, October 3, 1754, p. 6.

technical pattern than a dishonest one. Moreover, there was an intelligent dispatch of them.

Two factors stand out as paramount in importance, especially throughout the years from 1702 until 1725, the behavior of the sheriff and the elements of time and distance. It was not by chance that the act of 1725 tightened the provisions governing the duties of a sheriff in supervising an election. The electorate had been vulnerable on two counts. Since the sheriff was an appointee of the governor and council, a potent weapon had been placed in Crown hands. Closer to home was the fact that an unscrupulous sheriff had ample opportunity to feather his own political nest and to thwart the will of the majority. An abrupt closing of a poll or a delay in opening one worked great hardship on men who had to travel as much as thirty, forty, or more miles to an election. Shifting the polling place from one spot to another might well determine the result.

The importance of the act of 1725 cannot be overstressed. It is noteworthy that there were approximately twice as many disputes in the first eight Assemblies as there were in the last thirteen. Furthermore, the poorly defined electoral rules of the period preceding this act would have precluded an investigation of the Josiah Ogden type of 1738. Indeed, one may hazard the guess that the act was a strong factor in preventing the rash of disputes one normally would have expected to find during the period of the land riots.

Adequate, clearly defined, and properly policed electoral machinery, however, was lacking in the earlier colonial period in New Jersey. Because of this, representative government, however sound in theory, was on a tenuous practical base. Recognition of this factor played a major role in the enactment of the act of 1725. Thereafter the will of the electorate was more fairly registered until the Revolution itself brought additional factors into being.

THE CAMPAIGN OF PROMISE AND DISAPPOINTMENT

(Private Edmund J. Cleveland Co. K., Ninth New Jersey Volunteers, 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 18th Corps)

March 17—May 27, 1864

EDITED BY EDMUND J. CLEVELAND, JR.

(Editor's Note: This is the third in a series of excerpts from a Civil War diary. The first appeared in the January, 1948, "Proceedings" with a note about the author. The second appeared in the April, 1948, "Proceedings" and was carried over into the July, 1948, number.)

The Campaign

Early in April 1864, General Grant sent to General B. F. Butler, then in command of the Department of North Carolina, a letter which contained the following instructions: "You will collect all the forces from your command that can be spared from garrison duty—I should say not less than twenty thousand effective men—to operate on the south side of the James River, Richmond being your objective point. To the force you already have will be added about ten thousand men from South Carolina, under Major General Q. A. Gillmore, who will command the troops sent into the field from your own department. When you are notified to move, take City Point with as much force as possible." These instructions were repeated and amplified in other letters.

To make assurance doubly sure, Grant states that he "visited Butler at Fort Monroe and in conversation pointed out to him the importance of getting possession of Petersburg and destroying railway communications as far south as possible. Believing in the practicability of capturing Richmond unless it was reenforced, he made that the objective point of his operations." The movement was to be co-ordinated with a movement of the Army of the Potomac against the Army of Northern Virginia, north of Richmond. Both movements got under way on May 4.

With an army formed into the Tenth Corps under General Gillmore and the Eighteenth Corps under General "Baldy" Smith, Butler landed at City Point and other points on the south bank of the James River, May 4 and 5. In addition Butler had

at Suffolk, on the Virginia coast, a cavalry and artillery force under Brigadier General A. V. Kautz.

The landing was a complete surprise to the Confederates who few in numbers were unable to offer any opposition. From the Federal standpoint, the promise of a swift and successful campaign was about to be fulfilled. As Douglas S. Freeman says in "Lee's Lieutenants": "The Federals, if well led, would advance the next morning. Unopposed, they could wreck railroads, seize Petersburg, threaten Richmond." From the Confederate standpoint, "it was a crisis as acute as any the dreadful war had brought. A defenseless region awaited the invader as if it had been a rich mansion with its door unlocked and unguarded."

Butler did not realize or ignored his opportunity. To quote again from General Grant: "Butler was in position by the 6th of May and had begun intrenching, and on the 7th he sent out his cavalry from Suffolk to cut the Weldon Railroad. He also sent detachments to destroy the railroad between Petersburg and Richmond, but no great success attended these latter efforts. He made no effort to establish himself on that road and neglected to attack Petersburg, which was almost defenseless. About the 11th he advanced slowly until he reached the works at Drewry's Bluff, about half way between Bermuda Hundred and Richmond."

The meagre Confederate forces, first under the leadership of General G. E. Pickett of Gettysburg fame, then of General P. T. Beauregard, fended off these attacks with resourcefulness and skill. At Drewry's Bluff they discovered a gap of nearly a mile between the right of the Federal line and the James River. They gathered together all the effective men they could spare from the rest of their own line and concentrated here a considerable force under the command of Gen. Archibald Gracie, a former resident of Elizabeth, N. J. During the early morning of May 16, in the midst of a dense fog, the Confederates launched a vigorous attack against the Union position. Their flank turned the Federal forces which were thrown into confusion. Many were killed, wounded or captured. Among the prisoners taken was Brigadier General Charles B. Heckman, commander of the Star Brigade. Among the wounded was Colonel Abram A.

Zabriskie, the leader of the Ninth New Jersey. He died in Chesepeake Hospital on May 24.

Panic stricken by what he thought was imminent disaster, although only a small part of his troops had been in action, Butler immediately ordered his army to retreat. As Gen. Grant said in his report to the Secretary of War: "General Butler was forced back, or drew back, into his intrenchments between the forks of the James and Appomatox rivers, the enemy intrenching strongly in his front, thus covering his railroads, the city, and all that was valuable to him. His army, though in a position of great security, was as completely shut off from further operations directly against Richmond as if it had been in a bottle strongly corked."

Later the Eighteenth Corps was detached from the Army of the James and sent to Whitehouse on the Pamunkey River to re-enforce the Army of the Potomac, and took part in the Second Battle of Cold Harbor.

So was brought to a close the campaign which had begun with promise and ended in disappointment.

The Soldier

At the time Federal troops were being transferred from North and South Carolina to Virginia for Grant's spring campaign of 1864, Ed (Edmund J.) Cleveland, together with the greater part of the Ninth New Jersey, were on "veteran's furlough." On St. Patrick's Day, March 17, members of the regiment were brought together again in a camp on Julian's Creek, near Portsmouth, Virginia. They remained here for over a month, following the regular routine of military duty and doing nothing unusual, except for one brief, inconsequential expedition up the James and Chuckatuck rivers to Cherry Grove Plantation and nearby Smithfield.

During the closing days of April the Ninth New Jersey was loaded on transports and taken to Yorktown on the York River. Here they remained for only a week. Then the regiment re-embarked on vessels and on Thursday, May 5, landed at Bermuda Hundred on the south bank of the James River. Soon all the units of the Eighteenth Corps had arrived at

the same place. The very next day, Friday, May 6, the Star Brigade consisting of the 23rd, 25th and 27th Massachusetts and the 9th New Jersey, under Brigadier General Charles B. Heckman, went into action at Port Walthall Junction. This was a forlorn railroad station close to the Turnpike, (NOTE This is now a part of U.S. Route 1. Along the highway, markers have been placed by the Virginia Conservation Commission, indicating the location, date and character of the engagements which took place in the vicinity.) at the head of a branch line, now abandoned, running to the Appomattox River. Fighting continued through the next day, Saturday, May 7. Sunday, May 8, was a day of rest and respite. But on Monday, May 9, and Tuesday, May 10, the Star Brigade was again in action, this time at Swift Creek, a small stream a few miles to the north of Petersburg. The following days they advanced with the rest of the Army of the James up the Turnpike toward Richmond. By Friday, May 13, they had attacked the defences of Drewry's Bluff and established a line in front of Fort Darling. On Monday, May 16, the Star Brigade held the position on the exposed right flank, bore the brunt of the Confederate attack, and suffered accordingly.

Ed Cleveland was in all of the above engagements, with the exception of the final action of Drewry's Bluff. On account of a severe attack of malaria he was kept out of the fighting on that day. But, as he remained with his regiment, he got a full and first-hand account of what happened from survivors of the battle.

The Campaign As Seen By The Soldier

Off Fort Monroe, Thursday, March 17, 1864, 10:30 A.M.

Last night I slept very comfortably. Owing to some derangement of the machinery the boat lay still for three hours. But we sailed steadily all the morning. We made fast to the wharf at Fort Monroe at 10:00 A.M. The Colonel went ashore. As soon as he returned we started off again and we are now on our way to Portsmouth.

EVENING, MARCH 17

We tied up to the wharf at Portsmouth at 1:00 P.M. and immediately disembarked. We halted in a street near the railroad. As soon as the train came in we boarded the cars. Passing through the city we saw many splendid buildings, giving a New York-like appearance to the busy place.

We rode three miles to Getty's Station where we left the train. We marched up the road two miles to our camp, passing some forts, a long line of earthworks and many camps. All along the route the boys turned out to see us. When we stacked arms in our own camp the other boys of the Ninth came running toward us, and gave us a warm welcome.

We found the boys of Co. K and other compaines all mixed up together. The tents of the whole regiment were pitched, but only half of them occupied. Luckily I found a stockaded tent with only two occupants, Tom McCormick and John Weder (killed in action at Port Whalthall Junction, May 6, 1864) and Tunis Peer (taken prisoner at Drewry's Bluff, May 16, 1864; died in Andersonville Prison, Ga., August 24, 1864.) Later John Conroy took quarters with us.

The tents of the regiment are arranged fourteen in a row, two companies facing each other. There are excellent cook houses and officers' quarters.

FRIDAY, MARCH 18

I awoke this morning thoroughly chilled. Conroy got up and built a fire in the stove. Soon "Jack Frost" left our domicile.

After breakfast of salt junk, bread and coffee we all set to work and fixed up the tent.

There are a number of sutlers near the camp, several dining and oyster saloons and a picture gallery.

Yesterday, St. Patrick's Day, was celebrated in the camp of the 10th New Hampshire. There were various sports, including bayonet exercises and fencing contests.

The camp today has sounded like a carpenter shop, everybody being busy getting things fixed up. We had bean soup for dinner. It tasted first rate. I had a rousing appetite and

could eat this with more hearty relish than I did dainties in Jersey.

There are so many new recruits in the regiment that new rolls have to be made out. Some companies are more than full. I hope that they will always remain so.

We are fast becoming initiated again into camp life.

SATURDAY, MARCH 19

I have been engaged all day in scouring rifle and accoutrements, and finished with scouring myself. I let Tom McCormick shave off my elegant side-whiskers. I shall try to promote their further growth by constant shaving.

The "anti-vets" are continually reminding the "vets" of their coming three years of service. Several of the boys deeply regret having re-enlisted. They think that they were foolish.

The boys have been amusing themselves by kicking a large football made of India rubber.

SUNDAY, MARCH 20

We had company inspection at 8:00 A.M. Arms and accoutrements were in tolerably good condition. I have been engaged in writing all day.

There was a religious service in the camp of the 10th New Hampshire and many went over there.

Two of the new recruits are Frederick Weder and William Weder, (wounded at Drewry's Bluff, May 16, 1864), father and brother of John Weder.

MONDAY, MARCH 21

Last night was cheerless and frigid. We came near freezing in our tents.

There is a rumour afloat that we are to go to North Carolina under the command of General Burnside.

Today, Conroy and Peer put the top on the table in the tent. The boys are playing dominoes on it for the first time this evening.

TUESDAY, MARCH 22

It is a disagreeable and stormy day. I bought two copies of "The Old Dominion" (a paper published in Norfolk and

Portsmouth). The paper has Lincoln up for the next President. A newsboy sells "The Old Dominion" in camp every day.

Today the 27th Mass. passed through camp, outward bound, probably for picket duty. A worse day could not have been selected. I know how to pity the poor fellows plodding through the snow.

The storm continues unabated. Tonight a great game of dominoes is going on between Conroy and Randolph and Peer and Wilson. The latter pair are apparently victorious.

I wrote a letter for John Weder to Mrs. Albert Maines of Allamanchy, Union County, N. J. He is much pleased.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23

The storm ceased this morning. The snow is deep enough to keep many of the boys busy cleaning the sidewalks. It reminds me of winter in Jersey. This afternoon the boys started snowballing. They would shout, "Fall out for your mail." When others would rush from the tents to get the letters, they got instead a volley of snowballs.

THURSDAY, MARCH 24

This morning I washed my clothes for the first time since returning to the company.

The sun has shone beautifully all day. Toward evening there was a snow battle between the two sections of the regiment. The right wing, making several terrific charges, finally drove the left wing to their shanties and marched around the camp yelling and cheering.

Onr band now practices daily. The officers now have a drill master for sword exercise. It is about time that they learned to handle their "cheese knives."

FRIDAY, MARCH 25

The weather has been unpleasant all day. It has been raining hard. This evening a number of men from Trenton, N. J., reported for the Ninth.

Three of Co. K. are in the guard-house—one for fighting, the other two for A.W.O.L. Our company being so well represented in that institution is rapidly improving.

SATURDAY, MARCH 26

We learned today that Frank Hamilton died of "spotted fever" in Trenton, N. J. This is a camp disease which rages among the new recruits.

SUNDAY, MARCH 27

A beautiful day. We had company inspection at 7:30 A.M. by Lieut Wright. He was rigged up in his new uniform. He wore a crimson sash and carried an officer's "toad sticker." At 5:00 P.M. we had dress parade. Several orders were read. Lieut. Pullen, who commanded Co. K., remarked that from now on we would have plenty of drills, squad, company, battalion and brigade drills, three times a week.

There are now re-enlisting volunteers in the U. S. Cavalry (Regulars) for five years—Bounty $500 and sixty days furlough.

MONDAY, MARCH 28

This morning Conroy and I went on a straw gathering expedition. We got as far as Fort Walker on Julian's Creek. As yet there are no guns mounted in the fort.

Brigade Headquarters are a short distance from camp near the dwelling of Mr. Hodges. He owns the farm on which we are encamped and is under the protection of the government.

Conroy and I saw Gen. Heckman today. He was accompanied by his hostler, Bob Arnold, both on horseback.

TUESDAY, MARCH 29

It commenced raining this afternoon and has continued through the evening. Last night I had a comfortable rest on my new straw bed. After we retired orders came to prepare for a march and to cook one day's rations. But soon the orders were countermanded.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 30

On Guard, Post 5, 1st Relief. Captain Joseph B. Lawrence (killed in action at Drewry's Bluff, May 16, 1864) of Co. H. is officer of the day.

"Hatchet Face" (Lt. Augustus Brown) is a strict officer of the guard. Just after dress parade, we guards had to fall in and be inspected for arms.

TUESDAY, MARCH 31

As we expected we had to stay at the guard house all night, except when we were on post. The grand rounds came at midnight. At reveille we guards fell in and were inspected for arms. Then we had roll call.

FRIDAY, APRIL 1

All Fools' Day. The boys have been trying to fool one another, but few were sold.

This morning I attended the first company drill since returning to the regiment. This afternoon we drilled an hour and a half as skirmishers.

SATURDAY, APRIL 2

It has been a disagreeable rainy day. We have been in our tent all day, hardly daring to stick our heads out of doors. I have let out my dominoes. Peer and Wilson are playing Conroy and Teates.

SUNDAY, APRIL 3

Company inspection as usual. Conroy, Peer and I went to the woods this morning and brought back enough logs and branches to keep the fire going all day.

At dress parade this evening, the band made its first appearance. It consists of six pieces, trumpets, etc., bass drum, tenor drum and cymbals. Ebert of our company played a bassoon. This evening they were joined by the corps, of five drummers and one fifer making fifteen musicians in all. They played well.

I received a letter from my brother, Will, today. He says that butter is 60c a pound in Newark, the same price they ask here.

MONDAY, APRIL 4

Immediately after company drill this morning it commenced raining and has continued all day.

This afternoon I examined Corp. Townley's head according to Fowler and Wells' "Phrenology." I found that his prominent bumps are "acquisitiveness", "amativeness", "conscientiousness", and "conjugality", all of which are large.

They have got things very nice about camp. Lt. Townley

inspects the tents daily. Every blanket has to be folded in four thicknesses and tents kept in perfect order.

TUESDAY, APRIL 5

A nasty disagreeable day with incessant rain.

A sutler's shanty is being erected to the left of the camp. Captain (Charles H.) Sofield of Co. B. and Captain (John P.) Ritter of Co. G. are directing the work. It is understood that they will be sutlers for our regiment after the "anti-vets" are discharged. A man named Owens is in charge of the business for the present.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6

The weather cleared this afternoon, it would seem on purpose to have a drill of recruits.

This morning I wrote a letter for Clark to Miss Georgie Foster of Belvidere, N. J. Clark is opening up an anonymous correspondence with her uncle, under the nom de plume—"William Cunningham."

THURSDAY, APRIL 7

I was detailed on water police and with Condelly lugged water into camp. Being excused from drills I cleaned my rifle.

This morning the boys of Co. H erected a long blanket rack, extending the whole length of the street. They had the poles nailed to posts instead of resting on crutches. Lieut. Townley of Co. K liked the idea. So tomorrow it is certain that our crutches and poles will come down and be replaced with racks like those of Co. H.

FRIDAY, APRIL 8

Sure enough this morning old blanket racks came down and new blanket racks went up.

We had our first battalion drill this afternoon, Co. K. escorting the colors.

Yesterday evening I wrote a letter for Ed Swain to his brother Ira in Iowa. On the envelope I put, "Hard Tack, Bean Soup and Salt Junk. Forever Amen." This tickled Ed.

A new recruit of Co. D. died today in the hospital, the effect, it is said ,of an overdose of laudanum.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9

On guard on Post 7. Lt. Frederick Hobart is officer of the day. There is no officer of the guard. My orders are to allow no wagons, men on horseback or peddlers to come into camp. Nevertheless I allowed one cart to enter. In the cart was a member of Co. F, dead drunk. The cart was driven by its owner, a Virginian, and escorted by another member of Co. F. As it was raining hard, I took pity on the prostrate soldier and let them all in.

SUNDAY, APRIL 10

Dress Parade was accompanied by the band. An order from Gen. Butler was read. It stated that an enlisted man could transfer to the Navy for the unexpired term of his service, but he would have to furnish proof of, or swear to the fact, that he was a sea-faring man. Government bounties and state compensation already paid would be deducted from his prize money. Twenty men of Co. D. have already taken advantage of the order.

The papers of yesterday state that at a Sanitary Commission Fair held in New York, Gen. McClellan had 140 more votes on a complimentary sword than did Gen. Grant.

MONDAY, APRIL 11

At company drill this morning, Sergeant Wright gave us elementary lessons in bayonet exercise. The movements he taught were "Guard," 'Direct," 'Thrust" and "Lunge." Holding the rifle at arms' length for so long a time was very tiresome. There is yet a lot to learn.

An order from General Heckman was read at dress parade. It directed that, according to sentence of court martial, Private Charles Crompton of Co. G, 10th New Hampshire, be shot dead by musketry between the hours of 11:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M., Wednesday, April 13, in front of the camp of the 5th U.S. Artillery, in the presence of all the troops at this post.

I understand that four or more men of the 10th New Hampshire have recently been shot for desertion. The condemned man was once a rebel soldier. His sentence is the result of his trying to return to the rebel lines, after having enlisted in the Union Army and secured a large bounty.

TUESDAY, APRIL 12

At 1:00 P.M. the regimental line was formed and we marched toward Getty's Station. Colonel Lee, acting Brigadier General, drilled us with the 23rd, 25th and 27th Mass. While we were drilling a band was rehearsing a dead march. I suppose it was for the execution tomorrow.

At dress parade last evening an order was read that the Pioneer Corps of each regiment be immediately equipped with axes and axe slings. Last evening also, Sergt. Price was around filling up the cartridge boxes to 40 rounds apiece. I don't know whether or not these are signs of a march, but I guess it will blow over.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13

At 9:00 A.M. we formed regimental line and followed the 25th Mass. to Getty's Station. Besides the infantry regiments there were several companies of artillery, all drawn up in formation. But for some unknown reason the execution did not take place. We remained there for a short time and then counter marched, and returned to camp.

At 4:00 P.M. orders came to make preparations to go on an expedition. It is said that we are to be placed on transports at Norfolk, and that 700 men will represent the 9th N.J. I have been provided with all the necessities, including three days' rations of hard tack and salt junk. There are many rumors afloat about our destination. Both cooks will accompany us. Everybody is ready to start.

ABOARD STEAMER "JOHN TUCKER"

WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 13

We formed a line soon after four o'clock and marched to Portsmouth. Our regiment has 650 men, the largest number at any time since I have been with it.

At Portsmouth a lady on horseback reviewed us. She is a member of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, an officer with the rank of Brigadier General. She wore a black dress with two rows of brass buttons in front, arranged in couples, and a silver star on each side of the collar. I do not know her

name but she is a good looking woman. She has often visited our camp and is well acquainted with Captain Thompson.

All the regiment are aboard the "John Tucker" which is the identical boat which brought us here from Baltimore. It is said that we are going to Suffolk, making a junction with another force which is advancing in that direction, and trapping some rebs who are stationed there. The boys are in the best of spirits and are very merry.

At Rest For Dinner Near A Church, Five Miles From Smithfield

Noon, Thursday, April 14

At 7:30 A. M. we landed at Cherry Grove, on Chuckatuck Creek, which empties into the James River just above and opposite Newport News. We immediately formed line and marched through the village consisting of one brick dwelling and a number of frame houses. Just before starting a small boat full of men from one of our gunboats rowed across the creek and set fire to a large scow moored against the bank.

With Co. C thrown out as skirmishers we marched a quarter of a mile from the town. We stacked arms and lay still for about an hour. Then the 118th N.Y., who had started from Bower's Hill, 3:00 P.M. yesterday, came down the road, having with them nine rebel prisoners.

Soon after they passed we were on the march again, with Co. I as skirmishers and Co. K supporting them. We had not proceeded a great ways when a picket of Co. D fired at some rebels in a nearby woods. We passed the picket and marhed a half mile further on. Then Co. I commenced firing, and the rebels returned the fire, the bullets passing over Co. K but harming no one.

We turned into the woods, in the rear of the skirmishers. Lt. Townley still walked in the road and was shot at a couple of times by a rebel in a tree. A little farther on a rebel lay near the roadside moaning. He had been wounded in both legs. He may have been the one who had fired at the lieutenant, at least the latter thought so. For he told the Johnnie who had on the usual grey uniform, he had been

served just right and ought not to be fighting against us. "I know it, Captain," he replied, "but I just can't help fighting."

Lt. Townley took away his Enfield rifle and threw it in the bushes. Our boys picked up the reb and carried him along with us.

Captain Hufty of Co. I said he saw a large number of rebs ahead of him, but when we had come up they had disappeared. As we drew near the church we did see a couple of mounted men, probably rebel pickets, who skedaddled at our approach. They were fired at a dozen times but escaped unharmed.

Near here a lady in a sulky was overtaken. She was a pretty damsel and the handsome aide of General Graham seemed to take much pleasure in talking to her. She was not at all bashful and had a lot to say. Undoubtedly she was a spy and preceded us to notify the enemy of our approach. For the road on which we marched had fresh wheel marks upon it.

6:00 P.M.

We marched up the road to a brick church without a window frame or door. In front of the building is a large oak—at least fifteen feet around. Some distance ahead we noticed a number of men looking in our direction. When we caught up with them we found that they belonged to the "John Tucker" which had sailed from Cherry Grove Landing up Poyern Creek.

7:30 P. M.

Sergt. Williams interrupted my writing by detailing me on picket along with six others of the company. We walked up the street attracting much attention from the inhabitants. In one window I noticed two young ladies, each wearing a hat graced with a star.

We stacked arms in a street, parallel with the creek. Tom McCormick and I went into the house of an old colored man. In the kitchen, an outbuilding, we and several others cooked our coffee and fried bacon, and so enjoyed a sumptuous repast.

I fell into conversation with the old man. I sold a pair of speckled socks for a 50c Confederate bill and a 25c Surry

County bill. Afterwards I got another 50c bill for Rose and E. Hamler in exchange for coffee and sugar which we were told was hard to purchase at any price.

Here are some of the prevailing prices: coffee $12 per lb.; sugar $10 per lb.; flour $8 per lb. or $300 per barrel; shoes $30 to $60 per pair; bacon $7 per lb.; knit shirts $20 a piece; eggs $2 a dozen; tobacco $30 per lb.; salt $1 per lb.

What are the Southern States coming to!

A lieutenant of Marines was killed on the opposite shore of the river. He was in command of a landing party from one of the gunboats.

The people on the whole received the boys kindly. Most of the latter behaved themselves but a few plundered as usual, a party breaking into the post office and scattering the mail all over the street.

We suppose that we will remain here all night. The surrounding country is very pleasant but I fear that secession has about ruined it.

Sailing Down The James River

Morning, Friday, April 15

At 6:00 A. M. the Adjutant came and told Lt. Rogers to take us pickets down to the river and board the boat. Near our quarters is an empty house, once occupied by a doctor. He left two years ago. In the hall is a case containing a few shells, the remains of a collection which the doctor took with him when he left. I picked up a few of the shells and put them in my haversack.

When we reached the boat all the regiment were on board. While we were lying at the dock, some of the boys got into a nearby storehouse and found there some tobacco and other articles, including a library of books. Soon they were busy carrying armful after armful of the books to the boat. There were many fine volumes among them. A few of the officers took some.

It seems that the library is the property of Hon. Leopold P. Cooper, now residing in Portsmouth and recently appointed governor of West Virginia.

There are a number of vessels in the river near us, including a hospital boat. On the deck there are the reb who was wounded yesterday and Reynolds, a member of Co. I.

While lying here, our attention has been drawn to some rebs on the opposite shore. There is an island between them and us. We could see them go up the road a short distance and then skeddadle into the bushes.

Within a short time, the little tug "Emma" appeared, with a brass piece mounted on the bow and manned by the section of the 3rd Penn. Artillery and a detachment of infantry. It sailed around the island and up the creek but did not fire a shot. Soon afterwards a couple of gunboats followed and threw a half a dozen shells into the wood. With the first report the rebs disappeared. This was the place where the lieutenant of Marines was killed yesterday.

We sailed at 8 o'clock. Lt. Townley told us to get our rifles and then he lined us up on the deck with instructions to exchange shots with the enemy if they opened fire. On the way down the river we passed the wreck of a vessel sunk by the rebs last February. Only the boilers remained. We also passed earthworks recently abandoned. During the entire trip everything has been quiet.

The gunboat "Barnes" has just passed with her flag at half mast. The body of the Marine lieutenant killed yesterday lay on the upper deck in a life boat covered with a flag.

Before we started this morning a number of captured horses and mules were put off the boat. Some of the boys were so anxious after horses that they took several from their owners while they were plowing in the field. After the animals were turned loose, I saw a sprightly damsel catch and lead away a large mule. As we sailed away, there were four or five young ladies on the river bank, including the two with stars on their hats. But the little dears despitefully turned their backs upon us.

At Camp, Evening, April 15

On our way down the James River, we passed the "Atlanta", an ironclad ram captured from the rebs at Port Royal last

summer. She was a queer looking craft. The gun apartment on the deck was shaped like a pyramid, with portholes on one side. The whole ship was covered with railroad iron.

We reached camp at 4:30. Our band received us at the picket post on the Gettysville road and preceded us into camp. While I write the band is serenading the Lt. Colonel.

A member of Co. D wounded in the skirmish the other day was sent to the rear with two others. They were met by a reb lieutenant with a squad of men. He demanded a fight or surrender. Our boys, of course, chose the latter course. The rebs then took them down to Fort Monroe where they were paroled.

SATURDAY, APRIL 16

This morning I cleaned my rifle and accountrements. It has been raining all the afternoon.

SUNDAY, APRIL 17

There was company inspection at 7:30 A.M. At dress parade an order was read directing that all loaded rifles be fired each day between noon and 1:00 P.M., under the supervison of an officer.

There is a rumour afloat that we are soon to go to the Peninsula.

MONDAY, APRIL 18

Early this morning we began preparations for a general inspection.

TUESDAY, APRIL 19

This afternoon a funeral procession from the camp of the 27th Mass. passed through our camp. An escort with reversed arms, followed the regimental drum and fife corps playing the mournful strains of the Portugese hymn. The wagon bearing the flag covered coffin followed the escort. The pall bearers were all commissioned officers. When the procession passed our camp the flag was lowered to half mast. Our whole regiment turned out to see the funeral.

I have been busy all day repairing my clothing.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20

By direction of the Lt. Colonel the books taken from the

storehouse have been collected today. Wilson was over to Norfolk day before yesterday and he met Governor Cooper on the boat. The governor in vigorous language said that he would do his utmost to get the books back. He said that he had moved the books from Norfolk to protect them. I doubt if he gets all of the volumes.

THURSDAY, APRIL 21

I have been reading an account of the Metropolitan Fair in New York in the "N.Y. Herald" of April 9. The sword question is after all a poor way of finding out the opinion of people. For people can put in just as many votes as they have dollars to spare. Dollars and opinion are different things. (Note: See entry in diary for April 10.)

Officers are sending home their superfluous clothing, etc. This is a sign that we will soon see active service. It is reported that Gen. Grant has called in state militia for garrison duty. This is also an indication that we may expect a lively time.

FRIDAY, APRIL 22

At dress parade an order from Gen. Heckman was read. It directed that, as the command was about to enter upon active service, that both officers and enlisted men reduce baggage to a minimum of requirements. The order created much excitement. After parade nearly everyone was boxing up things to send home. The express companies will do a good business for a while.

SATURDAY, APRIL 23

Early this morning I began packing a box. There was enough room for any superfluous articles. Among the things I put in was my phrenology book.

There was a rumour afloat that the "Star Brigade" will be reserved to hold Portsmouth and Norfolk.

In today's "Old Dominion" there is printed a copy of a scorching letter Gen. Butler wrote to President Lincoln. In it Gen. Butler says that he is greatly dissatisfied that Gen. Smith should have been put over him. He is ready to retire

altogether instead of being a Provost Agent under Smith. I think Butler is right.

The mail going north has been stopped in view of coming movements. If the rebs have not found out already what they want to know, this is a good idea. Before any expedition has started from here, a man named Hodges who lives near the camp, mounts a fleet white horse and rides up the road, probably to carry information to the enemy.

SUNDAY, APRIL 24

A number of the boys went to Newtown last night and raised the mischief. One of our company was brought back under an escort and is now quartered in the guardhouse. Tomorrow they are putting on extra guards. So all must suffer for the disorderly acts of a few.

MONDAY, APRIL 25

The boys have been imbibing large quantities of cider sold by the sutler at 10 cents per glass. The effect is exhilarating, judging from the conduct of the boys.

A while ago I went out to the sutler's at Fort Kingsbury where a company of the 13th New York H. A. is stationed. On the way I met a number of men who could hardly walk back to camp. Conroy and I had a couple of glasses of cider together.

When we first reached the sutler's tent, the Lt. Col. of the 13th ordered the sutler to close immediately and, at all times, never to sell to any but to members of the company to which he was sutler. As soon as the Lt. Col. was out of the way the sutler, judging one man's money as good as another's, opened up again. Our sutler asks much higher prices than does this man; for instance, our sutler charges $1.25 for Navy tobacco and he only 90 cents.

2:00 P. M. TUESDAY, APRIL 26

Last night about an hour after taps there was a great commotion in camp. About 200 men, mostly of the right wing re-enforced by artillerymen made an attack on the sutler's tent, throwing bricks through the window, etc. They beat a

hasty retreat when Lt. Hobart, the officer of the day, called for the guard. Very valiant on their part! If they cannot make a thorough thing of an attack they had better try something else, like ceasing to patronize him. That would cure the sutler of charging exhorbitant prices for his goods.

Shortly after 11:00 A.M. orders came to prepare for immediate removal. Ever since the boys have been making plenty of noise in getting ready to leave. Three days' rations have been cooked. Our destination is unknown. We expect to start this afternoon.

GUARD HOUSE 8:30 P. M.

Soon after I was put on guard at 5:00 P.M., orders came for tents to be struck. The rest of the guard were dismissed and sent to quarters. But three of us with a corporal were kept to guard one prisoner, Webb of Co H, who refused to attend a battalion drill.

Soon after the orders were issued, the tents were struck and carried away on wagons. Since then the boys have been uneasy and amusing themselves by building fires in the camp.

Lt. Pullen says we are going to Yorktown.

ON BOARD STEAMER "GEORGE LEAREY" OFF YORKTOWN, VA.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27

We left camp at 10:00 o'clock last evening after a tedious delay. When we departed, the camp was illuminated with fires.

The other guards and myself fell in the rear of the regiment with our prisoner. We marched rapidly to Portsmouth, making only halts, and reaching there at 11:30 P.M. We stacked arms in a street parallel with the river and remained there for two long hours while the luggage was being loaded. Some of the boys stretched out on the pavement. We got on board about 2:00 A.M.

The "George Learey" is a large and handsome steamer. Downstairs there are two halls with stained glass windows. The staterooms have ornamental glass windows. Every nook and corner of the ship was filled with troops. I slept on the floor of one of the halls.

We left Portsmouth at 2:00 A.M. and cast anchor off

Yorktown at 10:30 A.M. On both sides of the river are many camps. Several gunboats are near us.

When the 27th Mass. arrived here on another transport their drum corps struck up a lively tune. When they had finished our band began playing. When our band stopped, then a band on the "Gloucester Point" commenced. So it has continued ever since. We expect to land soon.

BIVOUAC, YORKTOWN, VA., WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 27

At one o'clock an old ferry boat came along side and carried the 23rd Mass. and part of the Ninth N.J. ashore.

Yorktown consists of six or seven old houses and a lot of sutlers' shanties. Fort Yorktown near the wharf is a large and strong fortification. Along the high bank of the river are the remains of an old earthworks and an abattis.

At dusk orders came to rig ourselves in light marching order, the knapsacks to be sent back to Norfolk. Soon everyone was busy unpacking, repacking and marking knapsacks. My mucilage bottle was in constant demand.

Soon after supper we were odered to fall in. After a tiresome jog to this place, we are bivouacked two or three miles from the dock. Near us is camped another regiment. There is a rumour afloat that our destination is Williamsburg.

THURSDAY NOON, APRIL 28

We passed an uncomfortable night on account of continuous chilling winds. The boys put up little shelters with fence rails and rubber blankets. Wilson and I were just returning to camp with some straw when the bugle blew and we put on our harness. We were informed that we would be allowed one hour to eat dinner, and were served rations of bread, pork and coffee, and have been lolling around for a couple of hours. I think that we are waiting the arrival of shelter tents.

EVENING

We received the shelter tents late in the afternoon and now they are all pitched. Ross, Wilson, Henry, Delaney and I have ours fastened together and have made underneath a comfortable straw bed.

Guards have been posted with orders not to allow anyone

to leave camp, save to get water. The cold has driven some sleepers from their beds and they are now warming themselves by the fire.

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 29

At 6:30 this morning we marched, the regiments taking their proper places in brigade line. Each regiment had a band, ours being among the best. Gen. Heckman and staff reviewed us when we passed.

After covering four miles on a military corduroy road, we reached our camping ground, a beautiful place in the midst of hills and dales, like the Jersey countryside. Near our camp is a green knoll decked with blossoming fruit trees.

We had bean soup for dinner. Afterwards I went to a nearby brook and enjoyed a bath. I washed my shirt and other articles and hung them up to dry. In a few moments orders came for us to leave. I had to roll up all the wet clothes.

We marched back to Yorktown, the 9th in the advance. We left camp at 1:30 P.M. and reached Yorktown at 3:00 P.M. That was some tall marching, and the clay dust flew. We were a gay set of yellow boys when we halted here.

Soon after arrival the Lt. Colonel received orders for our return, but being given his time, he decided to wait until tomorrow morning. The cause of our sudden move, the officers say, was to take part in a review. Other reports are that Norfolk and Portsmouth were threatened and Gen. Butler sent for us as the only brigade which could be spared in case of emergency.

SATURDAY, APRIL 30

At half past one we formed brigade line and marched through Yorktown. We went to an open field on the opposite side of the town where three other brigades and four batteries of artillery were assembled. We were all reviewed by Gen. Butler and Gen. Smith. Then we returned to our camp, another dusty march.

SUNDAY, MAY 1

It has been rainy today. Four days' rations are now being cooked for us and it is thought we will march soon.

This afternoon the boys with much noise turned out to see a negro wedding party pass the camp. First came a retinue of seven couples, the men wearing on their left shoulders huge rosettes of pink, blue and white ribbon. The happy bride and groom followed, the latter wearing a white vest and white gloves.

MONDAY, MAY 2

This morning orders came to take down our tents and pitch them systematically.

It commenced raining this evening, a heavy downpour. Wilson and I were caught in it, while we were making an unsuccessful search for hay.

TUESDAY, MAY 3

At noon we were given nine days' rations of hard tack, salt pork, coffee and sugar and ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice. We have been waiting ever since, but I do not think we will get off before tomorrow.

The river is full of vessels, mostly transports. There is a rumour afloat that we are to embark in the morning to be taken to White House on the Pamunkey River. All enlisted men—including clerks, cooks and mail carriers—are required to carry rifles. This is a good move, although it will "cut" some of these well-dressed loafers to lug a gun again.

This afternoon McQuade and another fellow in fun threw George Townley down, Townley got mad and slapped McQuade in his face. A fight ensued in which Townley got his face well bruised. At roll-call this evening, Lt. Wright "called down" the participants for their "disgraceful conduct."

(*Continued*)

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS —WOMAN'S BRANCH

It is a great pleasure to welcome you, our members, today and to have the privilege of reporting to you, on whom our accomplishments entirely depend, on the activities of the Women's Branch during the past year. Some of you live so far away that it is difficult for you to keep in touch with us, and you may often wonder about the value of your membership.

Your dues are almost our sole source of revenue; and without this support and the knowledge of your keen interest, we would be unable to carry out the functions with which we have been entrusted.

Mrs. Franklin Conklin, Jr., reports the membership of the Woman's Branch today to be 341. Through the efforts of our committees and our members, we have added to the Society's over-all numbers, two life members, one sustaining, 19 contributing, 17 associate, and last but far from least, two Cradle Roll members.

Your dues have made it possible for the House Committee, under Miss Elizabeth C. Carter, to redecorate the basement hallway. Also a large capacity electric coffee maker has been bought to fill a great need when we are serving a large group. This committee has served delicious lunches to members on meeting days for the non-profit amount of 40c. It has also arranged the luncheon for the Annual Meeting last fall, and the tea that follows the meeting this afternoon.

Miss Winser, chairman of the Church Records Committee, has tirelessly scanned the papers for data of eventual historical value to be filed in the Library. You can help her by dating clippings from your own local papers, of church celebrations or anniversaries, and mailing them to her at this address.

The Museum Committee headed by Mrs. Moses Bigelow, is also dependent on your support for the means to care for the treasures which have been entrusted to it. The Duncan Phyfe sofa and the love seat in the Frelinghuysen room, have been recovered. Three of our important portraits which were deteriorating have been cleaned and restored. An old sampler has

been framed in antique gold molding found in our storage room. The flat cases have been lined with black velveteen to more effectively show their contents.

We have been fortunate to receive a goodly number of accessions to our collections, among them a mahogany sideboard of the Sheraton school and several portraits from the estate of Mrs. Isabel Gifford. The Clark Thread Company has sent us a number of pictures depicting different periods of its development, as well as portraits of its founders. A great many smaller items of beauty and historic interest have been gratefully received through the year.

The Museum Committee has assisted Mrs. Dennis, our able Assistant Librarian in charge of Museum, to rearrange the galleries for the different seasons and special exhibitions, and in keeping an interesting turnover from the collections in view.

We are grateful to the Trustees for their constant cooperation, and to the Library and Building Staffs who have been ever ready to assist us in every way.

In conclusion may I hope that you will through this report, sense the value of your membership in our Society, and that you will keep in mind in your daily associations the possibility of finding among them many who would be interested in membership, that our work may go on.

Respectfully submitted,

ELLEN S. HARTSHORNE
(MRS. RICHARD HARTSHORNE)
President, Woman's Branch
New Jersey Historical Society

ANNUAL REPORT OF TREASURER, WOMAN'S BRANCH, MAY 1, 1948—APRIL 30, 1949

Balance May 1, 1948		$ 641.11
Receipts:		
Dues of members	$ 656.00	
Investments	140.00	
Gifts	16.00	812.00
		$1,453.11
Disbursements:		
Restoring portraits, repairing and upholstering furniture, etc.	$ 397.83	
Painting halls	115.00	
Printing and postage	39.00	
Books and subscriptions to magazines, etc.	51.48	
Ins. on portraits and furniture sent out for repairs	25.00	
New kitchen equipment	27.34	
Gift to N. J. Historical Society	100.00	
Sundries	13.18	768.83
Balance April 30, 1949		$684.28

MAY KIRTLAND,
Treasurer, Woman's Branch.

Examined and found correct.

NATALIE E. WINSER,
Auditor.

WORK ON NEW JERSEY HISTORY IN PROGRESS

Supplementing the list of projects in the field of New Jersey history announced in its last issue, the *Proceedings* adds the following:

Condit, Kenneth W., 139 FitzRandolph Road, Princeton, New Jersey.

"A Study of Political Behavior in New Jersey 1844-1860."

Axelrod, Jacob, 225 Broadway, N. Y. C.: "Philip Freneau" (popular biography).

Hopkins, Dr. Frank W., N. J. College for Women: "Public Finance in New Jersey, 1865-1949."

Hutchinson, Elmer T., 120 Morristown Rd., Elizabeth, N. J.: "New Jersey Printers and Printing, 1800-1850."

McCulloch, Dr. Samuel C., Hist. Dept., Rutgers University: Thomas Bradbury Chandler, SPG Missionary in New Jersey."

Pomfret, Dr. John E., Pres. College of William and Mary: "History of the Province of West Jersey."

Reed, Prof. H. Clay, Hist. Dept., University of Delaware: "The Evil Men Do—a History of Crime and Punishment in New Jersey."

Sinclair, Donald A., Rutgers University Library: Index to New Jersey Biographies in biographical dictionaries, county and local histories, legislative manuals, periodicals and similar sources.

Wright, Miss Helen M., 161 Harrison St., Jersey City: Colonial History of Northwestern New Jersey, especially Morris County and adjoining section of Somerset County.

NECROLOGY OF MEMBERS

Joseph H. Fuhrman, of 930 Fifth Avenue, New York City, one of the most prominent publicity men of the state of New Jersey, died in New York Medical Center, April 14, 1949, after an illness of three months at the age of 53. He had been intimately associated with the publicity of the Republican party in New Jersey for the last fifteen years, serving as public relations director for Governor Driscoll, ex-Governor Edge, Senators Hendrickson and Smith, and former Senator Hawkes, and for the Republican State Committee. In addition, he had done special work for the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, the New Jersey Association of Railroads, L. Bamburger & Co., Fidelity Union Trust Company, of Newark, Johnson and Johnson, and the Prudential Insurance Company.

Born in Camden, he was educated in the public schools of that city and at the University of Pennsylvania. He worked as a

reporter for the Philadelphia Public Ledger and later for the New York Herald Tribune, where he became an assistant city editor. Leaving the newspaper field, he became associated with his father in the furniture business in Camden. From that position he took a leading part in fighting the sales tax which had been passed in New Jersey during the administration of Governor Hoffman. Using his newspaper experience, he wrote publicity releases against the tax which attracted attention first in Camden County and then throughout the state, and which were credited directly with bringing him into the Republican political field. Since 1936 he had been the official public relations representative of the Republican State Committee.

Mr. Fuhrman is survived by his wife, Mrs. Belle Fuhrman, his father, Nathan Fuhrman, a son, Paul, and two sisters, Miss Nola Fuhrman and Mrs. Bernice Sagin, both of Camden.

Mr. Fuhrman became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society, February 13, 1947, and a sustaining member May 14, 1947.

J. Lewis Hay, of Little Silver, former president of the Hay Foundry & Iron Works, of Newark, and of Wilkinson, Gaddis & Company, also of Newark, died May 27, 1949, in Monmouth Memorial Hospital, after an illness of two months, at the age of 82.

He was born in Newark, the son of Ebenezer C. Hay, and was graduated from Newark Academy. At the age of seventeen he joined his father in the foundry business established by his grandfather, James Bruce Hay, in 1830. On the death of his father in 1919, he became president and headed the company until it was sold to the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in 1931. He later became president of Wilkinson, Gaddis & Company, a pioneer wholesale grocery concern. He was a director of the Fidelity Union Trust Company, of Newark, a member of the Essex, Rumson County, Sea Bright Lawn Tennis, and Sea Bright Beach clubs and a former member of Essex Troop. He was a member of the vestry of St. George's-by-the-River Church, of Rumson and had served as a trustee of the Monmouth Memorial Hospital.

A widower, Mr. Hay is survived by two sons, John Lewis

Hay, Jr., of Little Silver, and Francis W. Hay, of Rumson, two daughters, Mrs. George F. Markham, of Little Silver, and Mrs. Joan Hay Rock, of Newark, seven grandchildren and nine great-grandchildren.

Mr. Hay became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society, May 3, 1909.

NEW MEMBERS

The Membership Committee announces the following new members since the publication of the last issue of the *Proceedings*:

INSTITUTIONAL

Newark Public Library, Newark

CONTRIBUTING

Mrs. Louis J. Christiansen, Elizabeth
Mrs. Lillian Collins Cook, Roseland
Mrs. Norman H. Cooper, Belleville
Mrs. W. Redmond Cross, Bernardsville
Mrs. Russell Cruser, Bound Brook
William J. Foppert, Elizabeth
Caleb S. Green, Trenton
Miss Eleanor Van M. Hines, Montclair
Guernsey Jones, Montclair
Mrs. E. C. Knowlton, Salt Lake City, Utah
Miss Margaret W. McCutchen, Plainfield.
John D. F. Moran, Haddonfield
Irving C. Newberry, Rutherford
Amos J. Peaslee, Clarksboro
Miss Alice R. Palmatier, Bloomfield
Richard B. Scudder, Atlantic Highlands
Justin W. Seymour, Orange

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENTS

The Polhemus Family Bible

Harold A. Sonn, of Short Hills, has recently purchased in England the family Bible, printed in Holland in 1741, owned and inscribed by Aurt Polhemus, "This is his book". Aurt Polhemus was born in 1747. It contains, beside the date of his birth, the dates of his wife, his marriage, and one or two of his children; and in it there is pasted a press notice of the death of Mrs. Aaffie (Effy) Polhemus who died at the age of 103, in 1854, in Rockland County, New York. This is the last entry in the book.

The book, printed in Holland Dutch, is fourteen inches by nine inches by four inches in size and weighs twenty pounds. It is bound in heavy leather covered boards with open work brass corners, hard tooled brass clasps and a lock of the same material. It is illustrated with wood cuts of Bible characters and contains a number of old maps.

"Jersey Gazette"

Volume One, Number One of *Jersey Gazette: a News-Letter for New Jersey Historians* has appeared under the date line of April, 1949, published by Rutgers University Library under the editorship of Richard P. McCormick, Rutgers, Lyman Butterfield, Princeton, Sidney Goldmann, Trenton, and Harold Wilson, Glassboro. The paper, designed specifically for workers in the field of New Jersey history, is packed with condensed, up-to-the-minute announcements and information of value to historians. Articles of New Jersey interest, appearing in historical magazines, are noted; new acquisitions of the university libraries and historical societies are listed; notices are given of meetings of historical societies and clubs; and a list is presented of studies in progress in the field of New Jersey history.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society hails the appearance of this sister publication in the field with every good wish for its success and the assurance of whole-hearted co-operation in making that success possible.

LIBRARY NOTES

The Society's collections relating to early New Jersey surveys were enriched by an important gift recently received from Mr. Richard C. Woodward of Bordentown, New Jersey. This gift includes the second volume of John Lawrence's field book, of some 783 pages, covering his surveys from 1752 to 1772, and supplements the Society's copy of his first field book used in running the line of division between East and West Jersey. The other outstanding manuscripts comprising this donation are: a document of nine pages reviewing Lawrence's survey between East and West Jersey; an eight-page memorandum relative to the old province line, usually called Keith's Line, between East and West Jersey; an eighteen-page history of the East and West Jersey division lines; an eleven-page, mile by mile account of Lawrence's 1743 line, compiled in 1839 by the eminent surveyor and geographer, Thomas Gordon, from Lawrence's journal; three memoranda covering David Ryerson's field notes on Lawrence's line in Sussex and Warren counties, also field books of Edward Welstead and Caleb H. Vantine; notes of Francis W. Brinley pertaining to Lawrence's line between Shore Road and Prospertown, copied in 1939 by Thomas Gordon; Thomas Gordon's survey of lines between East and West Jersey, and New York and New Jersey.

In 1743 the East Jersey Proprietors decided to run a line of division ex parte. John Hamilton and Andrew Johnstone, as commissioners under the Partition Act of 1719, appointed John Lawrence to run the line. A commission and a set of twenty-one instructions were issued to him in the summer of 1743. Lawrence was authorized to employ Martin Ryerson or Gershom Mott or some other as an assistant surveyor. Before the end of that year the division line of the two sections of New Jersey had been determined. This independent action on the part of the East Jerseymen naturally did not receive the unqualified approval of the land owners of the other division. Nevertheless, the former insisted upon the justice of the Lawrence surveys and the West Jersey Proprietors by subsequent acts practically acquiesced therein.

The line ran from the most southerly point on the east side

of Little Egg Harbor to what was then regarded as the most northerly point of the province, in latitude 41 degrees and 40 minutes. This latter point was in the Indian town called Cashieghtonk on the northernmost branch of the Delaware River, located some forty miles above Minisink Island.

John Lawrence, son of Elisha Lawrence and Lucy Stout, was born January 28, 1708/9, and died June 19, 1795. He was married November 2, 1738, to Mary Hartshorne, born April 27, 1714, and died February 19, 1782.—Edgar Jacob Fisher, *New Jersey as a Royal Province,* 1738-1776 (New York, 1911), p. #237; *New Jersey Archives,* Vol. VI, p. #154; Minutes of the Council of East Jersey Proprietors, August 17, 1742; Thomas F. Gordon, *History of New Jersey* . . . (Trenton, 1834), p. #74; William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments* (2d ed., Newark, 1875), p. #87; John E. Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany,* Vol. III (New York, 1914), pp. 402, 413.—E. T. H.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Misses Margaret Bayard Baldwin and Elizabeth Rutgers Baldwin, Highland Park: Miscellaneous deeds and maps and other papers connected with the Rutgers and Van Dyke families.

Miss Dorothy W. Ball, East Orange: Collection of old newspapers; History of the United States in Chronological Order (A. D. 432-1868); The Voter's Text Book, by James M. Hiatt. 1868.

E. M. Barradale, South Orange: Collection of old deeds of the Headley, Bonnel and Tichenor families, 1714-1832.

Miss Carola W. Bogardus, Hillside: The Price Family of Barrett Township, Monroe County, Pa.

Miss Elizabeth C. Carter, Newark: Ten small diaries, author unknown, but connected with the Condict family, January-September, 1815; Memorandum book of F. King.

Mrs. Francis Child, Newark: Director of Newark, 1935-36. (fac.)

John I. Coddington, Arlington, Va.: Reprints of his article on the Clarkson, Coddington, Gilman, Bible records.

G. Norwood Comly, Moylan, Pa.: Comly Family in America. Descendants of Henry and Joan Comly. Compiled by G. N. Comly. 1939.

Mrs. Willard W. Cutler, Morristown: National Geographic, Jan.-Dec. 1948; Genealogy and History, Nov. 1948, Jan.-Mar. 1949.

Mrs. Harold Dennis, Newark: The Marcus L. Ward Home at Maplewood, N. J., by John R. Hardin, 1929.

William H. Dillistin, Paterson: National Bank Notes in the Early Years: Directory of New Jersey Banks, Supplement No. 2.

James L. Garabrant, Newark: History of Newark, N. J., by Joseph Atkinson; New Jersey and the Rebellion by John Foster; Life of Washington, by Washington Irving; Compleat Angler, by Isaac Walton and Charles Cotton; Scrapbook.

Raymond A. Geiger, Newark: Farmer's Almanac, 1930-32, 1935-49.

Frederick K. Hopkins, Denville: Brochure of Hudson Trust Company, Hoboken, N. J.

Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.: Old Illinois Houses, by John Drury, 1948.

James Keller, New York City: You Can Change the World. The Christopher Approach, by J. Keller.

Mrs. Albert F. Koehler, Bloomfield: Excerpts from the Constitution of the Union Beneficial Society, Salem, N. J., and a list of its members, Mar. 19, 1832-41. Also deaths, 1843-1893.

Mrs. Fleetwood Lanneau, Newark: The First Hundred Years of The New Jersey Zinc Company.

Mrs. John P. Marble, Washington, D. C.: Collection of 18 old documents connected with the Van Horne Family.

George Frederick Miler, New York City: A Brief History of the Colonial Wars in America from 1607 to 1775, by Herbert Wade, 1948.

George J. Miller, South Orange: The Industrial Directory of New Jersey, 1946-47.

New Jersey Agricultural Society, Trenton: Pages from the Past of Rural New Jersey, by Robert J. Sim. 1949.

Newark Academy, Newark: Works of Daniel Webster, 6v.; Memorial History of the City of New York and Hudson Valley, 3v.; Harpers Weekly, 1861-65.

Henry W. Pilch, Madison: Collection of 46 pamphlets on the Morris Canal & Banking Company.

Miss Antoinette Q. Scudder, Newark: Pictorial map of Essex County—Middle 19th Century with map of Broad Street, Newark, 1796; Map of Newark, 1806; Map of Newark, 1859.

Mrs. J. A. Shoptaugh, Oakland, Calif.: Seven Generations of Family Bible Records, Descendants of Rebecca Ogden and Caleb Halsted, compiled by Mrs. Shoptaugh.

Miss Laura M. Sydenham, Plainfield: Progress and Prosperity by William DeH. Washington; The Lives and Graces of Our Presidents by G. S. Weaver.

Trenton Public Library: Minutes of the Provincial Congress and Council of Safety, 1775-1776.

J. Taney Willcox, Philadelphia: Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846-1946, by George H. Burgess and Miles C. Kennedy. 1949.

Richard C. Woodward, Bordentown: Original Field Book of John Lawrence and accompanying documents. Report of the Judiciary Committee on the subject of the Colonial Records of New Jersey. 1844.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM

March 1—June 1, 1949

The Misses Elizabeth Rutgers and Margaret Bayard Baldwin, New Brunswick, N. J.: Three pieces of underwear, 1850.

Estate of Mrs. J. H. Bartholomew, East Orange, N. J., through Miss Dorothy Washburn Ball: Jet and lace bonnet, plush coat, white piquet jacket, 1890; flowered mull dress, 1830.

Miss Elizabeth Condit Carter, Newark, N. J.: Orange taffeta dress which had belonged to her aunt, Miss Caroline Condit, of Orange, N. J. Miss Condit formerly lived in the Boudinot House, Park Place, Newark, N. J.; white quilted and tufted counterpane, made by Abigail Condit who married Joseph Hanson about 1810; Kashmir Shawl, c. 1850.

Mr. John DeMott, Arlington, N. J.: Dutch Trestle Table, 1700; one coarse and one fine hetchel from Wykoff-Hagaman Farm near New Brunswick, N. J.

Mrs. Harold Dennis, Newark, N. J.: Man's gold hunting case watch, purchased in London in 1830. Had belonged to Martin R. Dennis, Newark, N. J.

Miss Sara Hardham, Newark, N. J.: Pr. black satin shoes, 1840-60; American Flag, 36 stars; American Flag, 44 stars.

Mrs. John R. Hardin, Jr., Newark, N. J.: Set of old brass instruments for making gun shells.

Miss Madeleine Hodge, Princeton, N. J.: Three-piece baptismal outfit made in 1870 by Mrs. Jotham William Post of New York for her grandson, Caspar Hodge.

Estate of Alexander Lelong, Newark, N. J.: Antique Communion Service, through his daughters, Mrs. Walter Snelling and Mrs. Charles Nobs, Jr., East Orange, N. J.

Estate of George Miller, Newark, N. J.: Rifle, bullet container, powder kit, 22rd N. J. Volunteer insignia, photograph of 33rd N. J. Volunteer flag; also 2 G. A. R. Insignia.

Mrs. Hugh Pugh, Burlington, N. J.: Collection of muslin underwear, 1850-80; 2 poke bonnet veils, 1830-40; shawl, 1820; parasol, 1880; tortoise shell comb, 1840; two baby's caps; waist with jet, 1880; two muslin petticoats, 1900.

Miss Edith Rankin, East Orange, N. J.: Child's red silk coat, 1886; two dresses, one hat, 1910; baby's cap, 1910.

Mrs. J. B. R. Smith, Summit, N. J.: Very large framed hair wreath, made by Mrs. Smith's mother, Zerviah Stires, in 1868; satin and lace wedding dress, 1904, worn by donor.

Mr. Stephen M. Smith, East Orange, N. J.: Civil War epaulettes in tin box and miscellaneous insignia, owned by the donor's grandfather, Col. Stephen Moore Smith during the Civil War.

Miss Antoinnette Quinby Scudder, Newark, N. J.: Colored bead bag, 1845.

Miss Nathalie Winser, Bloomfield, N. J.: Sword carried in Civil War by Captain Elmer E. Ellsworth, Commander of famous Ellsworth Zouaves.